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OF THE

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
THE FYLFOT AND THE FUTHORC TIR. By H. Colley March, M.D.	1
WHAT WAS THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN MANCHESTER? By William E. A. Axon	13
THE EARLY COINAGE OF HENRY PLANTAGENET. By Nathan Heywood, S.S.C.	16
COCKERSAND ABBEY. By William O. Roper	26
LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE DOMESDAY. By George Esdaile	35
NOTES ON CHURCH RESTORATION. By R. Langton, F.R.Hist. Soc.	50
THE ANCIENT LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LOCAL COURTS OF CIVIL JURISDICTION. By Charles T. Tallent-Bateman	61
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TURNPIKE SYSTEM IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE. By William Harrison	80
PERIODS AND DEDICATIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE. By S. E. Haworth	93
CHORLEY HALL, AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD. By William Norbury	99
ON ONE OF THE EARLIEST LISTS OF PRINTED BOOKS. By Charles F. Collmann	115
MISERERES IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL. By the Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A.	130
WHO WAS MISTRESS JOYCE LEWES, OF MANCHESTER? By William E. A. Axon	145
MONUMENTAL EFFIGY AT BAGULEY HALL. By James Croston, F.S.A.	149
GROUPS OF COINS WITH A HISTORY. By William S. Churchill	155
WYCOLLER HALL. By Major-General C. H. Owen	173
FLIXTON AND ITS CHURCH. By Daniel John Leech, M.D., F.R.C.P.	182
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, NOW PRESERVED AT AGECROFT HALL, CO. LANCASTER. By J. P. Earwaker, M.A., F.S.A.	199
PROCEEDINGS	221
REPORT OF THE COUNCIL	391
TREASURER'S ACCOUNT	396
RULES	397
LIST OF MEMBERS	401
INDEX	411

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

THE FYLFOT. Table I. - - - - - - - - - - 1

" II. - - - - - - - - - - 9

" III. - - - - - - - - - - 12

SILVER PENNY OF HENRY PLANTAGENET - - - - - - 17

COCKERSAND ABBEY (SKETCH PLAN) - - - - - - - 26

TURNPIKE ROADS OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE, SHOWING THEIR PROGRESSIVE DEVELOPMENT (COLOURED MAP) - - 80

CHORLEY OLD HALL (DRAWN BY T. LETHERBROW) - - - 99

THE SCHOOL HOUSE, ALDERLEY (DRAWN BY T. LETHERBROW) - 111

BOOK LIST BY SCHOEFFER, 1470 (FAC-SIMILE) - - - - 118

MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL. MISERERES UNDER STALLS (South Side) 134

" " (North Side) 140

MONUMENTAL EFFIGY AT BAGULEY HALL (DRAWN BY J. CROSTON) 149

COINS WITH A HISTORY - - - - - - - - - - 155

WYCOLLER HALL AND FOOT-BRIDGE - - - - - - - 173

AGECROFT HALL (DRAWN BY G. H. ROWBOTHAM) - - - 199

RELEASE FROM QUEEN KATHERINE HOWARD TO RICHARD DAUNTESEY, ESQ. 1541 (FAC-SIMILE) - - - - - - 215

ENTRY OF JUDGE BRADSHAW'S BAPTISM IN REGISTER OF STOCKPORT CHURCH (FAC-SIMILE) - - - - - - - - - 251

ACOUSTIC POTTERY IN NORWICH CHURCHES - - - - - - 290

FRAGMENT OF SAXON CROSS AND OTHER STONES, DISCOVERED DURING THE DEMOLITION OF THE PARISH CHURCH, BOLTON, IN 1866 - - - - - - - - - - - - 342-4

BOLTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL - - - - - - - - - 356

ESQUIMAUX IMPLEMENTS - - - - - - - - - - 368

AUSTRALIAN STONE AND IRON IMPLEMENTS - - - - - 376

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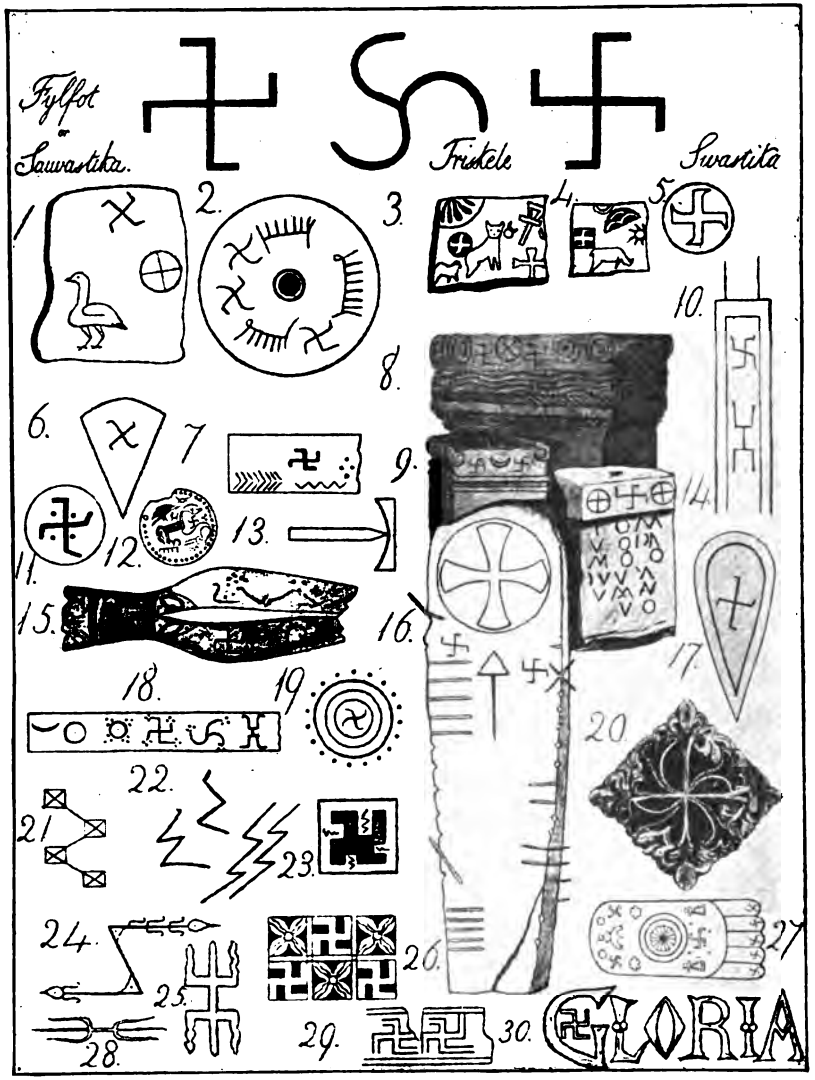
DESCRIPTION OF TABLE I.

1. Archaic Greek pottery, B.C. 650. fylfot + aërial emblems.
2. Terra-cotta balls. Troy. fylfot + flaming altar.
3. 4. Indo-Scythian coins, B.C. 250. fylfot + rayed sun.
5. Stamped clay, Swiss lake dwellings. Lake of Bourget.
6. On leaden idol, Troy. Schliemann. fylfot on maternal symbol.
7. Danish bracteate. fylfot + meander and fire symbol.
8. Roman altar at High Rochester, dedicated to Minerva by Lucius Cæcilius Optatus.
9. Roman altar at High Rochester, dedicated to the standards of the faithful of the Varduli by Titus Licinius Valerianus.
10. On bone arrow, Denmark bog. fylfot + thunder-bolt.



11. Archaic Greek pottery. Santorin.
12. Norwegian bracteate. Decorative group.
13. Hammer of Thor. Mystic double Arani. (The cross of the T should be horizontal.)
14. Roman altar at Birdoswald.
15. Bronze spear-head from Brandenberg.
16. Ogham stone, Aglish, co. Kerry.
17. Shield on Bayeux tapestry.
18. Scandinavian bracteate.
19. [illegible]nam stone.
20. [illegible]secration cross, Salisbury Cathedral.
21. Chinese thunder scroll.
22. Lightning symbols.
23. Archaic Greek pottery, Rhodes.
24. Scandinavian thunder-bolt, Forfarshire.
25. Jove's thunder-bolt.
26. Border of a chasuble, 1320.
27. Footprint of Buddha.
28. Conventional thunder-bolt.
29. Norwegian bracteate, decorative.
30. Legend on church bell, Hathersage, 1617.

THE FYLFOT AND THE FUTHORC *TIR*.

BY H. COLLEY MARCH, M.D.

IN the last volume (48 ii.) of the Archæologia, published by the Society of Antiquaries, appears an article by Mr. Robert Philips Greg, on the Fylfot.

This device—otherwise called Gammadion, crux gothica, croix gammée, and croix cramponnée, as well as, in India, swastika and sauvastika—is a four-legged cross, with the feet all turned in the same direction relatively to the legs. A somewhat similar device, having however only three legs, is called triskele.

Mr. Greg, who discusses and opposes the various views that have been offered in explanation of the fylfot, propounds a theory of his own. Believing it to be altogether wrong, and having, moreover, certain opinions on the subject myself, I venture to bring them to the notice of this Society. And I would begin by adverting to the general history of all such devices. They passed through four stages of existence. 1. At the outset each sign represented *some form or some fact in nature;* a thing or a phenomenon. Thus the zigzag was the mark, letter, or sign of lightning. 2. Next, the sign of the concrete grew to be the symbol of the abstract. The zigzag of lightning, for example, became the emblem of power, as in the thunderbolts grasped by

Jupiter; or it stood alone for the supreme god; and thus the *sign* developed into the *ideograph* (ideogram). 3. Afterwards, when the fulness and beauty of such ideas were degraded, when their evolution had culminated and had fallen back into involution or retrogression, the ideograph came to have no more than a mystical meaning. The zigzag, for instance, was no longer used as a symbol of the deity, but was applied auspiciously, or, as we should say, for luck. 4. The last stage was reached when the sign ceased to be even mystical or auspicious, and appeared merely as an ornamental device, either in needless repetition of itself or worked up in combination with other designs; as when the zigzag in conjunction with the sign of water is employed for simply decorative purposes.

As regards any particular symbol, then, it is important to ascertain, not what it meant at last or in the midst of its course of development, but what was its primary and original significance; and in any such attempt one may be quite sure of this, that in the first instance the sign resembled the thing symbolised. So that we may agree at once with Mr. Greg in setting aside the notion that the fylfot signified water. There is no likeness between the two. But besides this, the fylfot is found in apposition with the meander, showing that water, at any rate, is what the fylfot does *not* mean (*fig.* 7).

A second theory, and one that is combated by Mr. Greg, is that the fylfot, and especially the swastika of India or the Indian fylfot, was the emblem of fire, and a sign of the fire-churn or arani. This is the view advocated by Bernouf, who makes the fylfot identical with the "mystic double arani" mentioned in one of the Vedic hymns to Agni, the fire god. Now, in Sanscrit, arani means the wood of the Ficus Religiosa, used for kindling fire by attrition. Two pieces of this wood are rubbed together, a horizontal and a vertical piece, and the word arani, *in the dual number*, signifies these

two pieces of wood. The "mystic double arani," then, would be indicated by two lines, one horizontal and one vertical, and such a sign is found in the hammer of Thor (*fig.* 13); a suitable emblem for the god of thunder and lightning—the wielder of heaven's own fire. It is found also among the emblems of ancient Egypt. The arani or fire-drill is by some antiquaries associated with the complete cross, symbolically used for the sun, or, with the crux ansata, the emblem of fertility, though to these signs better meanings can be given. But assuredly no likeness can in fairness be said to lie between the fire-churn and the fylfot. Moreover, in addition to the fire-churn, there is a recognised symbol for fire (*fig.* 7), and both these are found in apposition with the fylfot; so that here again fire, at any rate, is what the fylfot does *not* mean. And this conclusion is confirmed by the fact referred to by Mr. Greg, that the swastika is not to be met with as a symbol among the followers of Zoroaster, nor on the coins of the Sassanian kings, on which fire emblems are conspicuous.

The last theory attacked by Mr. Greg, and a much more formidable one, is that so well maintained by Ludvig Müller. This writer, after pointing out, what all admit, that the swastika stood for the supreme Aryan god, contends that at some early time it must have represented the sun itself, and that the sign is indicative of gyratory motion. He adds, though, that as the ancients were unaware of the sun's rotation, the intention of the sign was "the course of the sun in the sky" rather than the actual disc of the sun itself, and so became "the emblem of the divinity from whom emanates the movement of the universe." And he associates, and I think rightly associates, the fylfot and the triskele as having the same fundamental significance; but, as I shall endeavour to show, he misses their essential meaning. Against all this Mr. Greg argues that the supreme Aryan deity was Dyaus,

the great sky and air god; that the Aryans venerated the sky or air rather than the sun; that the sky or air is fixed and does not move; and that, when the Aryans desired to represent the sun, they did so by *the rayed circle* (*figs.* 3 and 4). And then, bringing forward his own theory, he avers that the fylfot has arisen from a *resemblance to forked lightning* (Z), as exhibited by its two components, and that the sign is intended to represent, *not lightning nor any of its effects or correlates*, but the air and sky, and Dyaus, the air-and-sky god.

Perhaps the strongest argument, or indeed, as I think, the only argument advanced by Mr. Greg in favour of his theory, is a statement that the Chinese Buddhists use a symbol called "swastika," which not only resembles a flash of lightning, but, in old Chinese, signifies "thunder scroll" (*fig.* 21). Now the term "swastika" means merely "blessed" or "benedictive," a word which would be applicable to any sacred symbol in its mystical or esoteric stage, whatever its original meaning. We may admit that the Chinese swastika, or "thunder scroll," stood for lightning, like the conventional Scandinavian thunder-bolt (*fig.* 24); but neither of them is a fylfot, and the Chinese device has no resemblance to one.

Let us take an *à priori* view of the case put by Mr. Greg, and suppose ourselves wishful to invent a sign for the air and sky. We should look up, perhaps, into the vault of heaven, or at the horizon that surrounds us, and we might choose for a symbol either a circle with ourselves in the centre, or a crossed ring; or we might think of a bird,—of a pair of outstretched wings, of an eagle's pinion, "soaring with supreme dominion through the empty fields of air"—of the Assyrian plume, symbolic of power; or the feather of the Egyptian. But would a footed cross ever suggest itself to our mind?

Or taking an *à posteriori* view of the case, and having a sign, as Mr. Greg supposes, that *does* represent lightning, what abstract idea should we take this to symbolise? Something connected with its action; celestial fire, perhaps, or anger, or destructive energy, or war, or supreme military power; *but hardly the air and sky.*

Mr. Greg concludes by saying "the question is whether the device arose from the simple cross by the addition of the terminal feet, representing a revolving or advancing motion in connection with the solar idea, or as a simple and natural mode of expressing forked lightning, as the principal weapon of the sky or air god himself."

To which I reply that the principal weapon of the sky god may symbolise the god's might, but hardly in a natural way would symbolise the sky and air; that as a matter of fact the fylfot does not resemble forked lightning; that if it ever did so, this should better appear, and it does not, in the more archaic examples; that the thunder-bolt of Jove is by no means like a fylfot, even in its most conventional form; that there are recognised symbols for lightning with which the fylfot is found in apposition; and that any alternative to Mr. Greg's conclusion is certainly not confined to "a revolving or advancing motion in connection with the solar idea."

The theory I will now propound somewhat resembles that of Ludvig Müller; but inasmuch as it establishes an exact correspondence between the sign and the phenomenon signified, explains its use as an ideograph in connection with other symbols, and throws light on every difficulty, and there are some very serious ones, that other theories leave altogether in the dark, I trust it will meet with your acceptance.

The fylfot, or "fully footed" cross, is met with so widely among Aryan races, that we may safely place its invention

prior to the great Aryan dispersion. The oldest known examples are those from Hissarlik (*fig.* 2 and 6). It is found among ancient Greek devices on vases and coins (*fig.* 1, 11, 23). It adorns Latin inscriptions (*fig.* 8, 9, 14). It is common in India and Asia (*fig.* 3, 4). It is met with in Scandinavia (*fig.* 10), Iceland, Shetland, and Scotland; in Celtic Ireland (*fig.* 16); in Saxon England; as well as in Germany (*fig.* 15), and the Swiss lake dwellings (*fig.* 5). It occurs with Ogham inscriptions at Aglish (*fig.* 16), co. Kerry; at Bressay, Shetland; and at Newtown, Aberdeenshire. It is seen on the Annam Stone, Scotland (*fig.* 19), and on a cross in the Isle of Man.

The sign was adopted by Christians. It can be found in the catacombs at Rome, and in the cathedrals of Winchester and Exeter. It adorns a shield in the Bayeux tapestry (*fig.* 17). It is met with on English brasses: on the brass of Thomas de Hop, 1320, on a border of the collar of his chasuble alternately with quatrefoils (*fig.* 26), in Kemsing Church, Kent—thus bringing us to the last or purely decorative stage of the sign's existence; and on brasses in Chartham, Kent, 1354; Lewknor, 1370; and Merton College Chapel, Oxford; Oakham, 1370; and Stoke D'Aubernon, 1277, Surrey. It has received a florid treatment in a consecration cross in Salisbury Cathedral (*fig.* 20). It appears cast in relief on church bells: at Appleby, in Lincolnshire, it initials the legend SCA . MA . RIA . O.P.N.; and at Hathersage, Derbyshire, a fylfot occurs in the ℭ of Gloria in excelsis Deo, 1617. h✝o h✝o [Henry Oldfield, founder] (*fig.* 30). Heraldry calls it a cross potent cramponnée or rebated (Edmondson). It is said to be borne on "the coat of Chamberlayne of Yorkshire—argent, a chevron between three fylfots, gules."

In the stage of its degradation the sign was often incorrectly made by careless or ignorant workmen. Setting these

instances aside, the claws or feet of the northern fylfot, the crux gothica, are usually turned to the left ✠ In India they are generally turned to the right, ✠ and *the sign is then called swastika; but when they are turned to the left it is called sauvastika.* Both these words have much the same meaning. In his Sanscrit dictionary, Monier Williams gives for sauvastika, "benedictive, salutatory;" and for swastika, "a mystical mark made on persons or things to denote good luck." The words are from roots *su* = "well" (blessed), and *as* = "to be." They clearly belong to the third stage of the life of a sign, and were introduced after its primary meaning was lost. Its auspicious use in conjunction with a decorative employment may be seen in the "foot-prints of Buddha" (*fig.* 27). Here it should be noted that the corresponding name "fylfot," being Anglo-Saxon, is also a late invention; and hence we may conclude that the original denomination in use before the Aryan dispersion is altogether lost.

That there are *two kinds* of the fylfot, each having a distinctive name, is a point that has never been satisfactorily explained, and is one that Mr. Greg seems to think a matter of little importance. Professor Max Müller, however, recognises the difficulty, and remarks that with the Jainas "time proceeds in two eternal cycles, one *ascending* and one *descending;*" and he is inclined to see an emblem in swastika of the vernal sun, and in sauvastika of the autumnal sun—a notion far too abstract and obscure to grow readily out of any simple concrete sign, or to be accepted by the various races that adopted the fylfot as a device.

And now, looking at the fylfot, what idea does it suggest? Taking it, either by itself or in conjunction with the triskele, assuredly most men will agree with Ludvig Müller, that it suggests the idea of gyratory motion. But I would go farther and say that the essential suggestion is of AXIAL ROTATION. But what fact is there in nature for which such

a sign could stand? What spectacle of axial rotation could have excited the minds of men in all times and countries, and have led them to invent names and symbols to denote it? The very word *axis* answers the question. The Greek πόλος, from the root πελ="to turn," means a pivot, and was applied to what Confucius called "the hinge of heaven," the celestial pole round which revolved all the stars of the firmament once in twenty-four hours. This appearance of rotation is especially impressive in the Great Bear, the largest and brightest of the northern constellations. To the inhabitants of India or of Southern Asia the pole seems much nearer the horizon than it does to us, and more readily catches the eye. Furthermore, in consequence of the earth's libration, a slow swing that may be called a secular wobble, the celestial pole undergoes a precessional movement, completed in twenty-five thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven years, whereby, about four thousand years ago, the apparent pivot of rotation was not where it is now (table ii., *fig.* 1), but occupied a point at *α Draconis, much nearer to the Great Bear*, whose rapid circular sweep must then have been far more striking than it is at present. In addition to the name Ursa Major, the Latins called this constellation *Septentriones*, "the seven ploughing oxen," that dragged the stars round the pole, and the Greeks called it ἑλικη, from its vast spiral movement.

Now this nocturnal movement takes place in a direction contrary to that of the hands of a clock. It is an axial rotation from *right to left*, THE SWASTIKA, more obvious to Indians and Asiatics than to us, because to them the celestial pole appears nearer the horizon; and more striking in former days than now, because then the chief constellation was closer to the pivot of revolution. On the other hand, to northern peoples whose dwellings, as we know, always opened to the south, and for whom, as we have seen, the

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Pole Star would be high over head, the most obvious and impressive celestial movements would be the rising and setting of sun and moon when the spectator looked at them with his back to the north. And this diurnal rotation would be *from left to right*, THE TEUTONIC FYLFOT. So that there are two appearances of gigantic axial rotation; a nocturnal one from right to left, that would readily strike southern peoples, and that they denoted by the sign they most frequently used, the swastika, and the other, a diurnal one, from left to right, that would more readily impress northern peoples, and that they denoted by the sign they most frequently used, the fylfot. But all these peoples used both signs, and for each sign the natives of India have a distinctive name.

The lunar crescent of the Assyrian cult also entered largely into celestial symbolism. Sometimes the moon appears alone, as a strung bow; sometimes associated with the sun, ☌ (*fig.* 3), as the deity of horned cattle: sometimes the presentment is double, like the letter S, with the sun in the centre, as a solar snake; and sometimes it is multiple, with the aspect of solar rays ✲ But the triple crescent, that was so much in favour on the shores of the Mediterranean, underwent a curious transformation in opposite directions; the three cusps shrinking on the one hand into the triskele, the sign of axial nocturnal rotation, and developing, on the other hand, into three human legs, generally called the Triquetra, an anthropomorphic symbol of movement.

From the concrete fact, we pass to abstract notions, and five things may be observed: 1. The appearance of an axial rotation of the heavenly bodies naturally suggested the idea of power; and the sign for the phenomenon became the ideograph, first for rotational energy, and then for energy in general. 2. As the energy of celestial rotation, regarded in

its southern aspect and represented by the sauvastika, controlled not only stars and moon, but the sun also, it was evidently a power superior to the sun, and the symbol would not be used by the followers of a solar cult. 3. A power that swung round all the heavenly bodies must necessarily be supreme; and so the symbol stood for the supreme god Dyaus, and perhaps also for Zeus, Jupiter, and the Norse god Týr; though to personify force does not make force a person. 4. Inasmuch as the sun was the most important body moved by the power indicated by the fylfot or sauvastika, this, the diurnal symbol, rather than the swastika, would betoken such solar energies as heat and fertility, and we find it placed on the maternal emblem (*fig.* 6) and beside the flaming altar (*fig.* 2). 5. The distinction made between the two directions of rotation is shown otherwise than by their having distinctive names. When the sign is found in apposition with the rayed sun, which moves from left to right, the swastika is used (*figs.* 3, 4), which moves from right to left. On the other hand, when the sign is found in apposition with the triskele, which indicates a motion in one direction, the fylfot or sauvastika is used (*fig.* 15), which indicates a motion in the contrary direction, and both symbols, the triskele and the fylfot, are represented in the very act, as it were, of dragging round a number of stars.

The Teutonic spear (*fig.* 15), on which the last-mentioned devices occur, has others no less remarkable. On the right hand appears to be a flaming altar, symbolic of fire; on the left the mystic sea-serpent, "Midgarth's Orm, whose coils gird the whole earth," the symbol of ocean energy; and in the midst are spread a pair of out-stretched wings, to symbolise the air and sky. At the tip of one of the pinions are placed seven stars, in the relative positions of those which form the Great Bear; and at the tip of the other are three stars, the Lesser Bear (now called the pole-star and its

guardians), and these are the two constellations that long ago revolved round an older pole-star, *one on either side.* The sacred numbers, three and seven, have thus a celestial sanction.

On the Annam Stone (*fig.* 19) the fylfot appears within three concentric circles, around which are a multitude of stars. The circles probably represent the midgard, the osgard, and the utgard—the earth, the abode of the gods, and the world beyond, inhabited by giants and spirits of evil.

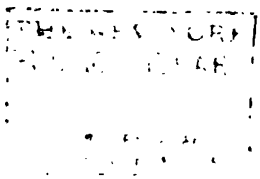
The Cosmos of Plato, as Grote reminded us, is a scheme of *rotatory spheres* which have both a soul and a body. The cosmical soul, rooted in the centre, extends through the whole, and makes the skies revolve round the earth by volitional power.

How greatly the appearance of celestial rotation dominated the Aryan mind may be further shown by some considerations in connection with the rune, or futhorc, *tir.* 1. Besides being the name of the rune, *tir* also meant three other things: an arrow, glory, and the constellation called "the ceorl's wain," or less correctly, Charles' wain. 2. As a futhorc, *tir* is an initial letter, in all Aryan tongues, of words that indicate force (table iii.). 3. Words connoting *force* were applied, before the Aryan dispersion, to the stars of heaven, and especially to the constellations nearest to the pole. 4. What to the hunter and soldier appeared as symbols of the chase, to the agriculturist were emblems of husbandry. The hunter saw Ursa Major, ἄρκτος, the bear; and ἀρκτοφύλαξ the bear-watcher. The soldier who saw an arrow in the rune *tir* beheld a flight of arrows in the constellation (table ii., *fig.* 2); while for him the same word *tir* stood for "glory," "dominion," and the superlative degree. He spoke of *tir eddige hæleð*, "most renowned heroes" (Menologium). 5. On the other hand, the farmer saw, in the same constellation, ἅμαξα, "Odin's

wagon," *the ceorl's wain*, the pole, or shaft, or *draught tree* of a carriage, and βοώτης the drover or wagoner (table ii., *fig.* 3). The supreme god Woden was called the Lord of the Wain, *Vagna-rúni*. 6. But in this cluster of stars, both huntsmen and herdsmen alike perceived, as their language reveals, the exercise of force, *the energy of axial rotation.*

It is interesting to observe, in conclusion, that this stupendous revolution of the heavenly bodies was, after all, only an appearance, due in fact to nothing more than the turning round of our own little earth. And we may well remember also that the energies that environ us, and that fill our minds with astonishment and awe, are nothing more than a multiplication of the forces associated with inconceivably minute atoms. The atom that alone would be an utterly negligible quantity, the centre of power so excessively minute as to be beyond all human ken and computation, by its mere numerical aggregation with atoms similar to itself produces all that we see and know and feel.

Sanscrit.	
DHRI. to use force to.	τείρ t
dhriti. dhru. an astronomical yoga. asterism. constellation.	τείρ t
dhūr. 1. the pole or shaft of a carriage. 2. the foremost part of a pole, where the yoke is fixed. 3. the top, place of honour; first, best.	ῥυμ t (ἄμ w a βοώ ὄρν ἀρκ ἄρκ
TRI. to move rapidly.	*P*
tīra. an arrow.	tir an
tāra. a star. an asterism.	Me
all conquering (dhūr, best)	Ma



WHAT WAS THE FIRST BOOK PRINTED IN MANCHESTER?

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

THE answer to this question is not so obvious as might at first be expected. There was in the Lancashire of Elizabeth's days two secret presses. From one there issued a number of Roman Catholic books. This was probably located at Lostock, the seat of the Andertons. The other was the wandering printing press which gave birth to the attacks of Martin Marprelate upon the Anglican episcopate. This was seized by the Earl of Derby in Newton Lane, near Manchester. The printers thus apprehended were examined at Lambeth, 15th February, 1588, when Hodgkins and his assistants, Symms and Tomlyn, confessed that they had printed part of a book entitled *More Work for the Cooper.* "They had printed thereof about six a quire of one side before they were apprehended." The chief controller of the press, Waldegrave, escaped, and in these poor persecuted printers we must recognise the proto-typographers of Manchester. No trace remains of *More Work for the Cooper.* The sheets that fell into the hands of the authorities do not appear to have been preserved. Putting aside the claims of this anti-prelatical treatise, we have to pass from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century. Many tracts and books

by local men, and relating to local affairs, were printed before 1719, but that appears to be the date of the first book printed in Manchester. The title page is here reproduced:—

> "Mathematical Lectures; being the first and second that were read to the Mathematical Society at Manchester. By the late ingenious Mathematician John Jackson . . . Manchester; printed by Roger Adams in the Parsonage, and sold by William Clayton, Bookseller, at the Conduit, 1719." (Octavo.)

The claims of Jackson's *Lectures* were stated by the present writer in *Notes and Queries* (see fourth series, iii. 97, and vii. 64) and in his *Handbook to the Public Libraries of Manchester and Salford.* Some further correspondence appeared in *Local Gleanings* (vol. i., p. 54), and an extract was given from one of William Ford's catalogues, which, if accurate, would show that there was a local press at work in 1664. Ford has catalogued a book in this fashion:—

> "A Guide to Heaven from the Word; Good Counsel how to close savingly with Christ; Serious Questions for Morning and Evening; Rules for the due observance of the Lord's Day.
>
> "Manchester, printed at Smithy Door, 1664. 32mo."

Apparently nothing could be clearer or less open to doubt. After a careful look out for the book, a copy has been secured and is now before me. The title reads:—

> "A Guide to Heaven from the Word. Good counsel how to close savingly with Christ. Serious Questions for Morning and Evening; and rules for the due observation of the Lord's Day. John 5. 39. Search the Scriptures. Manchester: Printed by T. Harper, Smithy Door." (32mo, pp. 100.)

There is no date, but the name of Thomas Harper, printer, Smithy Door, may be read in the *Manchester Directory* for 1788, and the slightest examination of the *Guide to Heaven* will show that its typography belongs to that period. From whence, then, did Ford get the date of 1664? If we turn to the fly-leaf the mystery is explained, for on it we read "Imprimatur, J. Hall, R.P.D. Lond. a Sac. Domest. April 14 1664." The book, in fact, was first printed in London in 1664, and Thomas Harper, when issuing it afresh, reprinted the original imprimatur, which Ford then misconstrued into the date of the Manchester edition. The book is entered as Bamfield's *Guide to Heaven* in Clavell's *Catalogue*, and the publisher is there stated to be H. Brome. Either Francis or Thomas Bamfield might have been the author, but the former seems the more likely. Thomas Bampfield was Speaker of Richard Cromwell's Parliament of 1658, and he was a member of the Convention Parliament of 1660, but he is not known as a writer. Francis was a brother of Thomas, and also of Sir John Bampfield, and was educated at Wadham College, Oxford, where he graduated M.A. in 1638. He was ordained, but was ejected from the Church in 1662, and died minister of the Sabbatarian Church in Pinner's Hall. He wrote in favour of the observation of the Saturday as the seventh day and therefore real Sabbath, and whilst preaching to his congregation was arrested and imprisoned at Newgate, where he died 16th February, 1683-4. His earliest acknowledged writing was published in 1672, and relates to the Sabbath question. The first book printed in Manchester, so far as the present evidence goes, was Jackson's *Mathematical Lectures*, but it was the fruit of the second printing press established. We shall soon have the opportunity of celebrating the tercentenary of Manchester typography.

THE EARLY COINAGE OF HENRY PLANTAGENET.

BY NATHAN HEYWOOD, S.S.C.

(MEMBER OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON).

UPON the death of Stephen, Henry II., called Plantagenet, came to the throne without opposition.

The new king's father was Geoffrey, count of Anjou, who used to wear in his hat a piece of broom, or plante-de-genet, and from this circumstance his son derived the designation of "Henry Plantagenet."*

The pennies of the previous reign had been principally minted by the barons and other illustrious personages, without any legal sanction, and were of uncertain weights, thus rendering commercial transactions exceedingly difficult.

The baronial and other castles from whence this unauthorised money was issued were very numerous, and Henry, immediately on his accession to the throne, caused them to be destroyed.

This coinage of Henry II. is of uniform type, though ill struck and irregular in shape, but is nevertheless very

* A different account is given by chronicler Matthew Paris. The reader is referred to Agnes Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1851, vol. i., page 231-2.

correct in weight, and was first issued A.D. 1156 from some of the following places of mintage :—

Bristol.	Lancaster.	Salisbury.
Canterbury.	Leicester.	Shrewsbury.
Carlisle.	Lincoln.	Stafford.
Chester.	London.	Stamford (?).
Colchester.	Lynn (?).	Thetford.
Durham.	Newark.	Wainfleet.
Exeter.	Newcastle.	Wallingford.
Gloucester.	Northampton.	Wilton.
Hereford.	Norwich.	Winchester.
Ilchester.	Oxford.	Worcester (?).
Ipswich.	St. Edmundsbury.	York.

The coins are all pennies of fine silver, and have on the obverse the king's head, nearly full faced, and crowned; a sceptre with a cross patée is held in his right hand, and the crown is ornamented with a fleur-de-lis, surrounded by the king's name and title, "HENRI [CVS] REX ANGL (ORVM)," variously abbreviated, and have on the reverse a cross potent, with rays issuing from the centre, and a small cross of the same kind in each quarter, surrounded by the name of the moneyer and the mint (see woodcut).

His coins have been found at four different places: first, at Royston, Hertfordshire; secondly, at Bramham Moor, Yorkshire; thirdly, at Tealby, Lincolnshire; and fourthly, at Ampthill, Bedfordshire.

There cannot now be any reason to doubt that these coins belong to Henry Plantagenet, as it was discovered by Sir Henry Ellis, "that whereas the names of the moneyers on coins of this type struck at Wilton are ASCHETIL, LANTIER, and WILLEM. There is a record [called the Chancellor's Roll] in the British Museum of the eleventh year of Henry II., in which the two former, whose names are both very uncommon, and occur as of this town on no other type, are mentioned as moneyers at Wilton."*

The hoard found at Tealby numbered five thousand seven hundred specimens, all of one type, and had been examined by the late Dr. Taylor Combe; particulars of which were communicated by him in a paper read before the fellows of the Society of Antiquaries on the 24th of February, 1814 who, when referring to the whole find, stated:—

"The coins were as fresh as when they were first issued from the mint, yet their execution was so bad that on many of them scarcely two letters could be discerned. The workmanship of these coins can, indeed, confer no credit on the state of the arts in the time of Henry II.; yet it is deserving of attention, that the weights of them, though apparently regulated by a pair of shears, were adjusted with extraordinary accuracy."

The following is the analysis of Dr. Taylor Combe's examination:—

"50 pieces were weighed separately and found to be 22 grains each.

100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 6 grains.
100 were weighed against 100, the difference was 14 grains.
200 were weighed against 200, the difference was 11 grains.
300 were weighed against 300, the difference was 13 grains.
400 were weighed against 400, the difference was 22 grains.

---

* Hawkin's *Silver Coins of England.*

500 were weighed against 500, the difference was 19 grains.
600 were weighed against 600, the difference was 6 grains.
700 were weighed against 700, there was no difference, ½ a grain turned the scale.
800 were weighed against 800, the difference was 14 grains.
900 were weighed against 900, the difference was 2 grains.
1000 were weighed against 1000, the difference was 14 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 17 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 14 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 6 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 3 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 16 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 23 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 18 grains.
100 weighed 4 oz. 11 dwt. 8 grains.
5127 weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 5 dwt.

They should have weighed 19 lb. 6 oz. 19 dwt. 18 grains. The difference is 14 dwt. 18 gr., which, divided amongst the whole number, makes each coin to have weighed nearly within $\frac{1}{18}$ of a grain of its proper weight."

The hoard found at Ampthill numbered one hundred and forty-two specimens, all of one type, and was examined by the late Rev. Canon Pownall, particulars of which were communicated by him in a paper read before the members of the Numismatic Society of London on the 15th of May, 1862, and in reference to the irregular shape of the whole find stated: "There are not more than twelve of the one hundred and forty-two coins before me which can with justice be described as round; out of sixty-seven more, it might be said they are certainly not round; thirty-six of the remainder approach more nearly still to a rude

square, or five and six-sided figure; and four are positively quadrangular." And in reference to the analysis the same gentleman remarks:—

"I found the whole number, being one hundred and forty-two coins, weighed 6 oz. 10 dwts. 8½ grains; and that, taken in lots of twenty-five at a time, the sum was thus made up:

First lot weighed 23 dwts. 0½ grain.
Second lot weighed 23 dwts.
Third lot weighed 22 dwts. 20 grains.
Fourth lot weighed 22 dwts. 20 grains.
Fifth lot weighed 23 dwts. 0¼ grain.
Sixth lot (seventeen coins) 15 dwts. 15½ grains.

The mean weight of each coin will therefore be a fraction over 22 grains, and the loss in weight on each something less than half a grain, a fact which the evidence of the eye will almost sustain."

The Tealby coins were handed over to the crown as treasure trove, and, after an examination, selections were made for the British Museum and a few favoured individuals, and the remaining five thousand one hundred and twenty-seven specimens melted at the Tower of London.

The law of treasure trove has never been appreciated by the public, who have always considered unclaimed property should belong to the finder, as against all the world, save the true owner. Such, however, is not the case, the ownership of hidden treasure being vested in the crown.

Had the Tealby find passed into private hands, probably over five thousand coins, perfect as when they left the mint, might have been preserved for our inspection.

The early coinage was superseded A.D. 1180 by an improved manufacture of silver pennies, under the superintendence of Phillipe d'Amerie, of Tours, and a considerable number of them were discovered at Eccles, in the county of

Lancaster, with other coins in 1864, and described by the late Mr. John Harland, F.S.A., in a paper read before the members of the Manchester Numismatic Society on the 11th of August in the same year, and subsequently published in the Society's proceedings.

It may prove interesting to know the value of the coins of the Norman period; that is, what they would purchase when they were issued. The price of wheat, of course, varied with the seasons, there being no importing of corn in those days. The country was entirely dependent upon its own resources, and, owing to the difficult communication between the different parts of the kingdom, corn varied greatly in price. Thus, in A.D. 1043 wheat was sold at five shillings the quarter, whilst in A.D. 1125, owing to a scarcity, wheat was sold at twenty shillings the quarter. About A.D. 1145 forty sheep were valued at twenty shillings; an ox, three shillings; and four hens sold for twopence; a ram being the value of eightpence. If we consider an ox to-day worth £25, and that it was worth three shillings in A.D. 1145, we must necessarily conclude that the purchasing power of a silver penny at that time was equivalent in value to nearly fourteen shillings of our current money.

The following is a list of the moneyers' names and places of mintage of the early coinage of Henry Plantagenet:—

Bristol.

ELAF . ON . BRISTO.
RICARD . ON . BRIS.
T . . . . D . ON . BRI.

Canterbury.

GOLDHAVC . ON . CA.
GOLDHAVOC . ON . CAN.
GOLDHAVOCE . ON . IA.
RICARD . ON . CAN.
RICARD . ON . CANT.
RICARD . ON . CANTO.
RICARD . M . ON . CAN.
RICARD . ON . M . CAN.
RICARD . MC . ON . AN.
RICARD . MI . ON . CAN.
ROGIER . ON . CAN.
ROGIER . ON . CANT.
ROGIER . ON . CANTO.
WILLELM . ON . CA.

Canterbury (cont^d).

WIVLF . ON . CAN.
WIVLF . ON . CANTO.
WIVLF . ON . CATO.

Carlisle.

WILLEM . ON . CARD
WILLEM . ON . CARDV.
WILLELM . ON . CAR.

Chester.

ANDR . . . ON . CEST.
. . . . . ON . CES.

Colchester.

ALWIN . ON . COLE.
ALWIN . ON . COLEC.
RIC . . . . ON . COLE.
P . . . . . ON . COL.

Durham.

IOHAN . ON . DVNHE.
WALTIER . ON . DVN.
WALTIER . ON . DVN . . . .

Exeter.

EDW . . . ON . EXCES.
GVNCELIN . ON . EXC.
GVNCELIN . ON . EXCS.
GVNCELIN . ON . EXCE.
RICARD . ON . EXCES.
RICARD . ON . EXSE.
. . . . . ON . XSE.
ROGIER . ON . EXCES.

Gloucester.

. . . ADVLF . ON . GLOE.
RODBERT . ON . GLOE.
SA . . . . ON . GLOECE.
SA . . . . ON . GLOECES.

Hereford.

S . . . . . ON . HEREF.
STE . . . . . ON . HERFOR.

Ilchester.

RICARD . ON . IVE.
RO . . . . . ON . IVELCE.
. . . . . ON . IVEL.

Ipswich.

NICOLE . ON . GI.
NICOL . ON . GIPEV.
NICOLE . ON . GIPES.
ROBERT . ON . GIP.
ROBERT . ON . GIPE.
RODBERD . ON . GIP.
RODBERD . ON . GI.
TVRSTAN . ON . GIP.
TVRSTAIN . ON . GI.
TVRSTAIN . ON . GIP.

Lancaster.

W . . . ON . LANST.

Leicester.

RICARD . ON . LERC.
RODBERT . ON . LERC.
RODBERT . ON . LERE.

Lincoln.

GODRIC . ON . LINC.
GOTHA . ON . LINCO.

Lincoln (cont^{d}.).

LAFRAM . ON . LI.
LAFRAM . ON . LIN.
LAFRAM . ON . LINCO.
RAVEN . ON . LINCO.
RAVEN . ON . LINCOL.
. . . . . HAM . ON . LIN.

London.

ALWI . . . . ON . LVNDE.
ALWIN . ON . LVND.
ALPINE . ON . LV.
ALWINE . ON . LVN.
ALWINE . ON . LVND.
DE . . . . ON . LVNDENE.
EDMVND . ON . LVN.
EDMVND . ON . LVND.
GEFF . . . . ON . LVN.
GODEFREI . ON . LVN.
GODEFREI . ON . L.
GODEFEI . ON . LVNDEN.
GODEFEI . ON . LVND.
HVMF . . . ON . LVN.
IOHAN . ON . LVN.
IOHAN . ON . LVND.
IOHAN . ON . LVNDEN.
LEFWINE . ON . LVN.
LIWINE . ON . LVN.
MARTIN . ON . LVN.
MARTIN . ON . LVND.
RICARD . ON . LVN.
RICARD . ON . LVNDE.
RODBERT . ON . LVN.
SPETMAN . ON . LV.
SWETMAN . ON . LVN.
PERES . ON . LVND.
PIRES . ON . LVND.
PIRES . ON . LVNDE.
PIRES . S,AL . ON . LVN.
. . . . ES . ON . S . LV.
PIERES . M . ON . LVN.
PIERES . ON . LVN.
PIERES . ON . LVNDE.
WID . ON . LVNDEN.
WIT . ON . LVNDE.
WIT . ON . LVNDEN.

Lynn (?).

ROGIER . ON . LEN.

Uncertain.

GIL . . . . . ON . L.

Newark.

WILLAM . ON . NE.

Newcastle.

WILLEM . ON . NIVC.
WILLEM . ON . NIVCA.
WILLELM . ON . NIVCA.

Northampton.

EII . . . . ND . ON . NORHA.
INGERAS . ON . NORAM.
RE . . . . ON . NORHA.
PIRES . ON . NORHA.
. . . . . ON . NOHA.

Norwich.

AGELHAN . ON . NORW.
GILEBERT . ON . NOR.
GILEBERT . ON . NORW.
HERBERT . ON . NORVI.
HERBERT . ON . NORWI.

Norwich (cont^d.).

HERBERT . ON . NOR.
HWE . ON . NOREWIC.
HW . ON . NORWI.
NIC . . . ON . NORW.
REIN . . . ON . NOR.
RICARD . ON . NOREV.
RICARD . ON . NOREC.
PICOT . ON . NOR.
PICOT . ON . NORWI.
PICOT . ON . NOREV.
WILELM . ON . NO.
WILLELM . ON . NORW.

Oxford.

ADAM . ON . OXENE.
ADAM . ON . OXENFO.
ASC . . . ON . OXEN.
ROGIER . ON . OXENF.

St. Edmundsbury.

HENRI . ON . S . EDM.
HENRI . ON . S . EDMV.
RAVL . S . ED.
RAVL . ON . S . EDM.
ROVLF . ON . S . EDM.
WILLAM . S . EDMVN.
PILLAM . S . EDMVN.
WILLEM . ON . SC . ED.
WILLEM . SC . ON . ED.
WILLELM . ON . S . EDM.

Salisbury.

DANIEL . ON . SAL.
DANIEL . ON . SALE.
LEVRIC . ON . SALEB.

Stafford.

COLBRAND . ON . STAF.

Stamford. (?)

WILLEM . ON . STA.

Thetford.

SIWATE . ON . TED.
SIWATE . ON . TEFFO.
SIWAT . ON . TIEF.
TVRSTAIN . ON . TC.
TVRSTAIN . ON . TE.
TVRSTEIN . ON . TE.
TVRSTEIN . ON . TEFF.
TVRST . . IN . ON . TI.
WILLAM . ON . TE.
WILLAM . ON . TEFO.
WILLEM . ON . TETFO.
WILLELM . ON . TEF.

Wainfleet.

WALTIER . ON . WAIN.

Wallingford.

FVLCHE . ON . VALI.
. . . . . ON . WALI.

Wilton.

ASCHETIL . ON . WILT.
LANTIER . ON . WILTV.
WILLEM . ON . VILT.
. . . . ON . WIL.

Winchester.

HERBERT . ON . WI.
HERBERT . ON . WIN.

Winchester (cont$^{d.}$).

HERBERT . ON . WINC.
HERBERT . ON . WINCS.
RICARD . ON . WIN.
RICARD . ON . WINCS.
RICARD . ON . WINCE.
RICARD . ON . WINCEST.
. . . SHERT . ON . WIN.
. . . . . ON . PIN.

Worcester (?).

. . . . ON . VIP.
NICOLE . ON . WIW.
ROBERT . ON . WIW.

York.

GODWIN . ON . EVERW.
HERBERT . ON . EVER.
HERBERD . ON . EVE.
IORDAN . ON . EVERWI.
LVD . . . ON . EVEWI.
WVLFSI . ON . EVERWI.
. . . IFFI . ON . EVEWIC.

COCKERSAND ABBEY.

BY WILLIAM O. ROPER.

ON the edge of the shore and close to the mouth of the river Lune stand the ruins of Cockersand Abbey. Not many in the neighbouring town of Lancaster are aware of the existence of those ruins, and fewer still think that the little chapter house and the tottering walls, which stand so exposed to every western gale, represent an abbey which ranked third amongst the monastic houses of Lancashire.

The bleak-looking spot now occupied by the ruins seems first to have been devoted to religion in the time of Henry II., by one Hugh Garth, "an heremyt of great perfecc'on."* To him William de Lancaster granted the place of Askelcross and Crok, with the fishery of the river Lune, to maintain a hospital. This grant was followed by one from William, son of Michael de Forness, of land in the adjoining township of Thurnham.

"And by such charitable almes as the said Hugh dyd gather in the countie he founded an Hospitall called Cokersand, with iij Chanons in the said hospitall—a master and ij brethren; and was called the Master of the Hospitall of Cokersand."†

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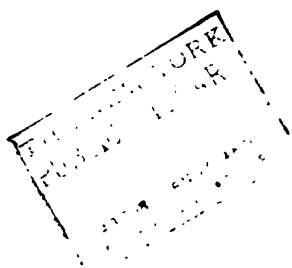
* Harl., 1499. Surtees Soc., vol. xli., p. 91. † Harl., 1499.



For a time the little house of Cockersand seems to have been in some way connected with the great establishment of St. Mary, at Leicester. But in the year 1190 came the foundation charter given by Theobald Walter, brother of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. The deed declares that the donor gives and confirms "all my Haia of Pylin to God and the blessed Mary and the Abbot and Canons of the Premonstratencian Order there serving God, in clear perpetual alms, for the building there of an Abbey of that Order."

Thus the little hospital blossomed into an abbey, and in 1190 Pope Clement confirmed to the prior of the Hospital of Cockersand that the house should be called the Monastery of St. Mary, of the Premonstratensian Order of Cockersand. Richard I. also confirmed the charters, and John confirmed to the canons of Cockersand the pasturage of "Pilin," the place of "Cokersond," and their other acquisitions. In 1215 John again confirmed to "God and the Blessed Mary of Cokersand, and the abbot and canons of the Premonstratensian Order there, the patronage of the Church of Garstang, which they had by the gift of Gilbert Fitz-Reinfrid." In the same year John confirmed to the abbey lands in Bolton-le-Sands, Newbiggin, and other places in the county of Lancaster. In John's reign the canons declare themselves to be "troubled at the tyme of ther elecc'on of theyre Abbot with the gentilmen of the contrey, theyre neyghbors, and made sute to the King for his mayntenance to have free elecc'on amongst themselves." For this privilege of free election the monastery agreed to pay to the crown the sum of twenty shillings on every election.* Grants of land and liberties flowed in upon the little monastery, until in 1292 the abbot claimed to exercise

* Harl., 1499.

rights and privileges in nearly two hundred different townships. Notwithstanding this, the canons, in requesting Richard II. to confirm their charters, style themselves "The King's poor Chaplains," and pray for a consideration of their poverty, and that they are daily exposed to perils and destruction by the sea.

The possession of property brought with it troubles and responsibilities. The Chartulary of Lancaster Priory records two vehement disputes in 1216 and in 1256, between the Priory of Lancaster and the Abbey of Cockersand, as to the right to levy tithes in the neighbouring townships.

For the next two centuries little is known of Cockersand. But at the commencement of the sixteenth century the rent roll of the abbey was carefully written out by James Skypton, then the cellarer and afterwards abbot of the house. This rent roll, with its long list of tenants, is now in the Chetham Library, and was printed in full in volume lvii. of the publications of the Chetham Society.

When, a few years later, the storm of the dissolution came the monastery of Cockersand bent before the wind. The annual value of the house was stated to be £157. 14s., and the abbey therefore fell with the other monastic institutions, the income of which being under £200 a year were condemned to be swept away.

But the monks of Cockersand stoutly contended that the income of their house amounted to more than £200 a year, and that therefore the abbey ought not to be dissolved. New visitors were therefore appointed by the king's commission dated the 24th day of April in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

These commissioners—Thomas Halsall, William Leyland, and Henry ffaryngton, knights; Thomas Burgoyn and Thomas Dawtrey, gentlemen—visited the Abbey of Cocker-

sand in the last week of May, 1537, and thus reported to the king: The abbey was of "White Chanons of the Order of P'monstratens of the Rule of Seynt Austen." The valuation, which formerly had been £157. 14s., was increased to £282. 7s. 8d. The inmates were stated to be twenty-two in number, "all prests of honest conversation." There were fifty-seven servants and "five poor aged and impotent men kept dayle of charitie."

"And the Churche of the same monastery there with other buyldyngs of the same ar in goode state and plight except an old house called Kyng Johns Hall standyng upon the see syde thakked with strawe." The moveable goods were valued at £217. 5s. 1d., of which the ornaments of the church were valued at £35. 19s. 2d.*

Another survey enumerates the various lands which the abbey held. The demesne lands of the abbey were not extensive, but the lands in Pilling were kept by the abbot in his own hands. There was a windmill and a little moss for turbary. There were also barns at Garstang, at Winmarleigh, at Clevely, and at Skerton. The rectory of Mitton also brought in a certain amount of tithe to the abbey.†

The visitors left, and the monks of Cockersand waited as patiently as they could for the verdict, which was to confirm them in their home by the waves or to drive them forth to the four winds. And for a time their hopes revived, the king's letters patent restored the abbey, and confirmed Robert Pulton in the abbatial chair. But the respite was a short one. In 1540 the monastery shared the ruin of the rest of the larger religious houses, and the monks were driven from it never to return.

It was probably at this time that a survey of the abbey was made, which I think is the most curious of

* *Duchy of Lanc. Records*, Class xxv., Bundle G, No. 1.
† *Ibid.*, Bundle CC, No. 26.

the manuscripts relating to Cockersand preserved in the Record Office. This MS., unfortunately not quite complete,* enumerates minutely the various belongings of the monastery, and enables us to form a very fair picture of the monastic establishment as it looked at the time of its fall. The inventory commences with the sacristy. In it the visitors found a chalice and paten, and a pair of censers of silver; there was also a cross of wood covered with silver plate and a crosier staff of copper gilt. Passing towards the church, the visitors noticed "the suits of Red Damask for the Deacon and Sub-Deacon with twelve copes of the same, and various other vestments—suits of red silk, of green silk, and a cope with crosses on the back 'called the best grene sute.'" There were altar cloths, books, and towells, all enumerated together, and a broad cloth of "blue sercenett" and two old candlesticks of brass for ministrations. On turning into the church, the visitors saw before them "the High Aulter of Imagerye," with the abbot's seat standing at one end of the altar, and the dim light brightened by two great candlesticks of brass, which rose from the floor of the chancel, and a massive chandelier of brass, which hung from the roof. At the entrance to the chancel was the lectern "of wodde with an egle upon the same," and on each side of the choir stood the stalls of the monks, thirty in number. Before the stalls lay fifty-four service books, valued at £3. 6s. 8d. The light from nine windows in the chancel fell upon a stone effigy, which marked the grave of a former superior of the house. In the rood loft were the great organs, and below were the little organs, called the "Portatiffs."

Moving eastwards the inquisitors passed into the Lady Chapel, and stood before the altar of Our Lady, with its

* *Duchy of Lanc. Records*, Bundle G, No. 10.

gorgeous altar cloth. On the alabaster table stood two candlesticks, and five windows gave the chapel light. At one side stood the organ, and the floor was paved with tiles of ecclesiastical design.

Their inventory completed here, the visitors returned to the church, and passed up the steps in the south transept into the dormitory. Turning to their left the visitors entered the scriptorium (immediately over the chapter house), in the library of which they found fifty-two books and in an ambury in the cloister they found fifty-four others. Passing on through the dormitory, past the beds of the monks, each with its mattress, two blankets, and two coverletts, the abbot's chamber was visited. Then followed six other chambers, known as the sea wall chamber, the inner, high, under, middle, and end chambers. Next came the hall or refectory, with its three long tables, and its adjoining chambers—the buttery, the pantry, and the kitchen. Here were "two furnaces of Brasse to boil in," and a large number of cooking utensils, besides twenty-four plates of pewter, eighteen pewter dishes, fifteen saltcellars, a brazen mortar with a pestle of iron, a pair of mustard querns, and three barrels of verjuice. Next came the abbot's dining chamber hung with green tapestry, with its two tables, four chairs, and two carpets. Adjoining was the abbot's buttery, with the bakehouse and brewhouse. Turning into the cloister garth the visitors noted its pavement of small tiles and ten stalls of wood. Entering the chapter-house the visitors stood beneath the beautiful groined roof, now the sole relic of the abbey which can in any way pretend to be at all complete, and which itself has suffered from modern restoration.

Last came the fratry, adjoining the chapter house, and then the visitors turned to the abbey farm, where they took record of fifty-eight milch kine, seventy-five other cattle,

nine horses, seventy-seven sheep, seventeen wild kine, and twenty-three draught oxen. There were also to be enumerated three acres of wheat, ten of barley, two of pease, and thirty-two of oats, valued altogether at £41. 12s.

Then came the steeple, with its six bells, valued at £60, and the lead of the roofs, valued at £66. 13s. 4d.

Shortly after the dissolution of the abbey, another survey was taken of the abbey lands. These lands, including the site of the monastery, were declared to be worth £34. 12s. 10d. per annum, or at twenty-three years' purchase £796. 15s. 2d. To this sum £1. 13s. 4d. was added for the woods, making the total estimate £798. 8s. 6d., and it was declared that there was "no man that will bye the seid demeanes but onely John Kechyn." Accordingly, "John Kechyn, of Hatfield, in the Countye of Herts, Esquiyer," was on the sixth day of June, 1544, declared the purchaser at the sum named. On his daughter's marriage the abbey lands passed to Robert Dalton, of Bispham, by whose descendant in the female line, Sir Gerald Fitzgerald, they are held at the present time.

Of the abbey itself but little remains. The chapter house alone stands complete. Octagonal in form, with its roof supported in the centre by a single shaft, the chapter house is indeed a worthy relic of the once flourishing abbey. Its diameter is thirty feet, its walls two feet six inches in thickness. Its windows, five in number, have been partly blocked, and the floor has been considerably raised in order to render it available as the mausoleum of the Dalton family. In front of the chapter house was a vestibule of which no trace now remains. To the north stood the church, long, narrow, and aisleless. On the eastern side of the south transept were two chapels, and perhaps the sacristy; the base of the column dividing the chapels is still to be seen *in situ*. On the eastern side of the north transept were two or possibly

three chapels. Beyond the west end of the nave stood the great bell tower, remnants of which were lying on the shore in the early part of the last century. Of the church only small portions of the walls of the nave and transepts and the base of a column now remain. From the west end of the church ran southward a building—called by the late Mr. Sharpe in *Cistercian Monasteries* the *domus conversorum*—which probably included the dormitories of the abbey servants and the cellarage of the monastery.

On the east side of the cloister was the chapter house, with the scriptorium above, and southward from it ran the fratry with the monks' dormitory above. On the south side of the cloister were the passage to the outer buildings of the monastery, the lavatory, and the refectory, and possibly a part of the kitchen. Of these only grass-grown mounds remain. Of the abbot's residence, of the kitchens, of the number of other buildings which stood to the south of the convent, not one stone stands above another, except where, overhanging the sea, stands a tottering wall, possibly the last remnant of that building described by the visitors of three and a half centuries ago "as an old house called Kyng Johns Hall, standing upon the See syde, thakked with Strawe."

Three other relics remain to be noticed. The first, a ridge gravestone, marked with shears on one side, lies near the church. The second is a screen, now preserved in the extremely curious old church at Mitton, which mentions the name of William Staynford, an Abbot of Cockersand. The third is a large muniment chest, beautifully carved in high relief, and said to have belonged to the abbey. This chest is now preserved in the chapel adjoining the old home of the Dalton family at Thurnham. I have not added to this list of relics the matchless stalls of Lancaster Church, as though they are said to have come from Cockersand, the tradition lacks corroboration.

Another relic might perhaps be added in the shape of the chartulary of the abbey, formerly in the possession of the Daltons and quoted so freely by Dr. Whitaker, and which I hope will shortly be printed.

But though the remains are not extensive, though the chapter house is the only building standing, the site of that old monastery by the sea is to me particularly interesting. There is very little work to be done to show exactly where all the buildings of the monastery stood, but that little ought not to be left undone. The mere removal of the turf along the lines of the walls, and a very slight levelling, would show before us the floor of the old church. And not improbably the work would be rewarded by a harvest of tiles and of objects of interest of many kinds, for which the chapter house close by would form a suitable home.

We should then be able to form a much more life-like picture of the ecclesiastical establishment which ranked third in the roll of Lancashire monasteries, and of the life of an abbey whose remains have survived the perils of the sea of which the monks complained nearly five centuries ago, and which have proved far less harmful than the hand of man.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE DOMESDAY.

BY GEORGE ESDAILE.

IN choosing the title of my paper I fear that the subject may be thought too dry and dusty, but as this year is famous amongst other matters as the anniversary of the eighth century of the completion of the Great Survey, I feel that any remarks on such an interesting subject may not be out of place. I do not purpose to give a popular paper, but only to endeavour to account for the discrepancies and omissions in the portions relating to the two counties with which we, as residents or antiquaries, are most nearly connected.

Having thus circumscribed my limits to that portion known as vol. i. of the Domesday Book, 1783, I will proceed to lay before you as briefly as possible the matter I have gathered, together with some deductions which may render us less discontented with the sparse entries about the district which is not called Lancashire in the Domesday Survey.

These references to the area of the county of Lancaster are found in vol. i., pp. 269*b*, 270, 301*b*, 302, and 332, and are comprised in the hundreds of "West Derbei, Newetone, Walintone, Blacheburne, Salford, and Lailand," which contained about one hundred and eighty-eight vills, places, or

berewicks. In the hundred of "Agemundrenesse" were sixty-two vills; of these sixteen were thinly populated in the time of the survey, and the number of the inhabitants was not known; of the remaining forty-six there is the significant entry "*Reliqua sunt wasta;*" these sixty-two vills are "thrown into Preston." In like manner twenty-three other vills are included in Haltune, and amongst them we find the present capital of the county, Lancaster; and in the succeeding entries we have fifty-six other places, vills, or manors, as the case may be, with very little explanation beyond their contents in carucates. These and those given under Haltune are entered without any values being added, and without any remark as to their being waste; we may, therefore, fairly assume that they were not waste. The gross number of vills or places for Lancashire is three hundred and twenty-nine, with about sixty waste.

Now, as the whole of the lands just mentioned, and comprising almost, if not quite, the entire area of the present county of Lancaster, had been given by the Conqueror to one man, Roger of Poitou, who was so called because of his marriage with Almodis, Countess of March, an heiress of lands in Poitou—Roger was the third son of Roger de Montgomerie, Earl of Arundel and Shrewsbury—there was good reason, therefore, for not going much into detail in the account of the survey, especially as between the times of the gift and the survey, possession of the whole had been resumed by the king.

I fear that I may be deemed heterodox in my disbelief of the originality of the domesday survey, but in my opinion the original book containing the inquisitions has not been handed down to us, but only an abstract of it. I believe that when we fondly gaze at the vol. i., as many did at the meeting in the Record Office on the 25th of October last, we think we are looking at the famous "Rotulus

Wintoniæ," "the Roll of Winton," "the writings of the King's Treasurer," "the Book of Winton" and "the Book of the King," "the Book of Judgment," "the valuation of England," "notes and showing up of England," and "the Roll of the King"—and now commonly known as Domesday Book; but we are not looking at what we believe we are gazing upon, but simply at a volume whose age is reckoned by centuries, but still only a *précis*. This may be called a rash statement without any foundation, but my principal witness is the book itself, vol. i., p. 332*b*. "This is the fee of Robert de Brus, which was given after the Book of Winton was written."

The existence and place of deposit of vol. i. were given with great minuteness by Mr. Hubert Hall on the date named, so that there can be no doubt as to its identification; but still there is the internal positive evidence on page 332*b* of an earlier book. Mr. Hall, in the *Athenæum*, 27th November, 1886, also considers vol. i. a *précis*, but from another point of view.

I was hoping to have been able to tabulate the values of the vills and the quantities of the waste lands of Lancashire, but for the reasons stated I cannot give the whole. Such entries as exist show that the values of one hundred and eighty-eight vills, places, or berewicks, in King Edward's time, were £145. 2s. 2d., and when Roger received they were worth £120, showing a depreciation from some cause of £25. 2s. 2d., the remaining one hundred and forty-one places are of course out of the above estimate. The waste lands within "our" Lancashire county area were Altcar, half a carucate. Salford hundred had twelve carucates waste out of three hides. Lailand hundred, containing thirteen manors, was in part waste. The whole yielded (T.R.E.?) £19. 18s. 2d., but is now worth fifty shillings. Amounderness, forty-six vills or places waste. In condensing this waste account I

have taken Altcar (one), Salford (three), Lailand (six and a half), Amounderness (forty-six); in all, say sixty. To contrast this now with the well-filed *précis* of "cestrescire," we find three hundred and fifty vills or places, worth T.R.E. £294. 3s. 6d.; now (*modo*) £223. 1s. 7d., a depreciation of £71. 1s. 11d., and the astonishing number of two hundred and thirteen places wholly or in part waste at three given periods (T.R.E., *fuit et est*). Lancashire then was, I think, not so bare, waste (whatever the term may have meant), swampy, and poor as some have thought. I should like to explain the term, "a well-filed *précis*," which I used a moment ago, and I would but refer to the hundred and forest of Macclesfield, formerly with some trifling variations the Hamestan hundred. In that area there are only thirty-six vills or places mentioned, and there are twenty-three vills or places omitted and amongst them Stokeport. Why this should be can now only be conjectured. Were they or any of them comprised in some other? Was Stokeport in Poynton the caput of the Vernons, or in Brinnington and yet the caput of the Costentyns? Domesday is silent, for these three towns or villages do not occur in the record.

To digress for a moment, to hastily glance at the more northerly counties, Westmoreland, Cumberland, which are but meagrely given in vol. i., and Northumberland and Durham not at all. The latter certainly is in the Boldon Book of 1183. I think, however, that as we find many early references* to Cumberland in the Patent Rolls Catalogue, which is but a selection, we should almost be able to compile a return for the northern counties. I know of the objection that the northern parts of England were in the hands of the Scots, but how about the entry in the Rolls of Parliament, vol. i., p. 469*b*, where, in a petition to the king

* Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 29, 41 H. III.; p. 233, 21 R. II.; p. 325, 20 E. IV.

and council, the petitioner states that he was seized of a burgage in Berwyk on Twede, and that his name was entered in *Domesday*, or again in Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 105, 3 E. III.

If further proof were wanting that vol. i. is simply a *précis*, it is found on turning to records—removed but a little distance in point of time from Domesday Book—such are Rot. de Oblatis; Rot. Can.; Cal. Rot. Char., *temp.* Joh. 1199-1216, and in Cal. Inq. p.m. and Excerpt e Rot. Fin. *temp.* H. III. for Lanc., and in Cal. Inq. p.m. *temp.* H. III. for Cestr,—in all of which we find names of places in either county which have been omitted in the *précis* vol. i., but which places have names which evidently date from British, Roman, or Saxon times, and anterior to the Norman Conquest, as in Lancashire — Hulton, Ribelton, Stretford, Trafford, Makerfeld, Stanedich, Clivacher, Oswaltwysill, Cliderhow, and in Cheshire—Merpell, Wibresley, Stokeporte, Echelis, Bruninton, Haccresley, Torkinton, Bosdon, Bolyn.

I would allude to the lost Domesday of Chester, which was known to have been lost or embecilled, as Dugdale puts it, before 23rd February, 1647-8. I have a list of thirty-nine documents, which exist in various places of deposit, which would go far to make up the lost roll which I believe to have been one of the original county inquisitions made by the Conqueror's order. I append the list, and will but remark on one or two of the most important:—

I. A volume in the possession of the Duke of Westminster, at Eaton Hall, marked xxi. 5, said to be a transcript of a large portion of the celebrated and lost record. On page ninety-six is written, "Ex Rotulo Cartar' antiq' vocat domesday." The contents consist of final concords, acquittances, grants, and confirmations, and are not similar to the entries in the great Domesday Book.

II. A breviarie of Domesday Book Cestrescire. The last two—the accounts of the hundreds and the breviarie—are

by Sir Peter Leycester (seventeenth century), in the possession of Lord de Tabley (Leycester collection), Tabley House, Knutsford.

III. Ex Rotulo antiquo igne et fere consumpt [*sic*] penes R.C. remanen'. This relates to the distribution of Cheshire after the Conquest, and promises to be a mine of wealth to repay the examination (Bodl. Lib., Ox.).

IV. De Rotulo vocat' Domesday Cestr' qui perpetuum habet firmitatem et de transcripto ejusdem per Justiciar' Cestr' miss' 3. Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 27, 39 H. III. a tergo (Record Office). This throws some further light on the Sandbach advowson (No. 7, Ormerod's Ches. Dom. Roll), and should be read with an abstract of the Pleas (Abb. Plac., p. 142, when Alan la Such was justice of Chester).

V. An abstract of Domesday Book, Cheshire (Tabley House).

VI. Extract from Domesday Book relating to Chester (Bodl. Lib.).

VII. Ex rotulo cartarum antiquarum vocato domesday relating to Cheshire (Bodl. Lib.).

VIII. Ex rotulo antiquo apud Gowsworth, co. Cestr. (Bodl. Lib.).

IX. Notes from Domesday and Book of Tenures, Ches. (Bodl. Lib.).

X. Harl. MSS. 2010. A folio written by many different hands, and on the outside, entitled Cheshire Domesday Book, containing: 1. The last Randle Holme's list of things of note in this book. (2. A List of the Pontiffs.) 3. Alphabetical table of the names of all the towns and villages in the several Hundreds of the Co. of Chester—said to be taken—ex libro Pergam'; penes D Will Vernon remanente, scil. Collectorum Subsidij trium millium marcarum per Comitatum Cestr. anno 5 E. IV. 4. The names of all the Townes and Lordshipps in eich Hundred within the County-Palatyne

of Chester, and anno 1662 (Hundreds of Bucklow and Macclesfield). 5. Wirral Hundred, 1668. 6. Namptwich Hund., 1666. 7. Northwich Hund., Edesbury Hund., and Broxton Hund., 1671 (Chester city). 8. A Trew Coppy of that Extract of Domesday-Booke (so much as concerneth Cheshire), remayning in the custody of the King's Remembrancer and belonging to the Exchequer at Westminster, which booke is called the *lesser* Domesday Booke. Transcribed by the second Randle Holme from Mr. Peter Leicester's Copie; which he examined with the Record, the 9th July, 1646. 9. Certaine parcells (relating to Cheshire) transcribed out of the *greater* Domes-dei-booke remaining in the Tally office at Westminster. I cannot attempt to reconcile the statements in the two preceding entries as to *lesser* and *greater*, as we know of Cheshire simply through the greater Domesday—the greater as regards size; the smaller volume containing Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk only. Can the breviarie mentioned in No. 2 be a copy of the lost roll and Harl. MSS. 2010, 8, a true copy of it? 10. The complaint of the men of Middlewich against the abbot of Darnehale, &c., from the records. 13. Ex majori libro de Domesday; viz., De Terra inter Ripam et Mersam quæ nunc est pars agri Lancastriensis. 15. "Abstractum sive Epitome Libri Domes-dei (quantum scilicet ad Cestre-scire) secundum ordinem villarum in unoquoque Hundredo" and written by the second Randle Holme and corrected by his son. 17. Notes relating to Domus-dei-Booke: its name, use, &c.

XI. was in the possession of Col. Towneley, Towneley Hall; its present place of deposit is unknown to me. It is endorsed Domesday, County Chester, "Lacy Evidences," and contains a true coppie of Domesdaie sub titulo Cestrencire; transcribed by Mr. Squire in 1649, and examined by Dugdale. This is probably only a copy of the Cheshire entries as now in vol. i. of the published work.

XII. The same volume previously mentioned in the Harl. MSS., 2010. 18. Extracts from Domesday relating to Cheshire; copied by Randle Holme (second) from a copie of Domesdei, transcribed from the record for Mr. Peter Leicester and Mr. Wm. Vernon, at the price of eight pounds, by Mr. Scipio l'Esquier, then Under-Chamberlayne of the Exchequer, and was compared with the record itself by the same Mr. Leicester. "Here I cannot but wish that honest Randle had been as good a copyist as Scipio l'Esquire was."

XIII. The last Randle Holme's beginning of a Translation of Cheshire in Domesdei. (Harl. MSS. $\frac{2010}{19}$.)

XIV. Harl MSS. 6428. A small octavo, containing a Transcript of Domesday Book as far as relates to Cheshire.

XV. Is in the Record Office. (Cal. Rot. Pat., 1 pat., 12 E. III., p. 131. 17.) Perampla exemplificatio omnium feodrun militum pertinen' Comit' Cestriæ pro Ed' Duce Cornubiæ ac Comit' Cestriæ. This document is what it purports to be, and is an enlarged copy of certain items in the Red Book of the Exchequer, or in the exact words of the Roll, "In Rubio libro feod' de Scci' in Com' Cestr'". The original matter in the Exchequer occupies about five-eighths of eight inches by seven inches, and is written in two columns of forty-four lines or parts of lines. This exemplification is written on two skins of thirteen inches wide, including a margin of one and seven-eighths of an inch, the skins are of the respective lengths of twenty-eight inches and twenty-nine inches, and are joined to the roll by a series of stitches in a vandyke form. The document is a list of the Knights' Fees in the Palatinate—the names of persons and places are of the greatest value. Some entries are short, as Rog'us de Venables X feod'; others are longer, as et d'nus de Hellesby tenet tres p'tes uniu' feod' in Kyngeslegh, which place is not found in vol. i. Domesday Book.

XVI. Perampla exemplificatio cujusdam inquisitionis per quam compertum fuit quod quoddam vastum vocat Ruddheth in com' Cestriæ quod principes clamabat, &c. It pertained to the estates of the Vernons and Grosvenors, viz., Shilbrooke and Allostoke. (Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 156, 22 E. III.) In the 5 E. III., 2nd numbers "Rudeheth p'tin', ad man' de Byneley-Cestr'. These references to Cheshire are of the highest importance, as in them places are mentioned which are not given in vol. i. of Dom. Book. Those in No. 16, viz., Rudheth, Allostoke, Byneley, and Shilbrooke, are omitted from the Great Record unless Sibroc stands for Shipbrook or Shilbrooke.

XVII. Exemplificatis inquisitionis post mortem Warini de Vernun de diversis maner', terris, and tenementis in com' Cestr', capt. in 32 H. III. Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 210*b*, 8 R. II.

XVIII. Willus de Vernon quondam Comes Devon. 11. Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 11, 2 H. III., pt. I. These memoranda as to the Vernons are of great value, not only as elucidating the vague Domesday question, but as showing how the title of E. of Devon was carried by the marriage of Mary Vernon with Robt. de Courtenay into that family.

XIX. Leycester MSS. on Cheshire. There are many unpublished MSS. of Sir Peter Leycester's in chests at Tabley House.

XX. The MSS. collections of John Booth, of Twemlowe (1584-1659). Pedigrees, &c., relating to Cheshire, preserved at Twemlowe Hall. 2. Copy of the above by Mr. Stafford, about thirty years ago, in the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Johnson, of Ashton-upon-Mersey. 3. Copy formerly in the library of Sir John Crewe, at Utkinton. 4. Copy in the library of Herald's College. 5. Copy in the library of Colonel Egerton Legh. 6. Copy in the possession of Major-General Glegg. 7. Copy in library of Ed. Townshend,

Esq., of Wincham. 8. Copy in library at Tabley Hall. No. XX. and the copies are alluded to in Orm. Ches., i., xvi.

XXI. Annales Cambriae, &c. Huc usque ex libro vocato Domesday reservato penes Rememoratorem *Dn'æ Reginæ* in Scaccario Westmonasterii Chronicon Cambriae (servatur in libro Domesday penes Rememoratorem Regis Westm., A.D. 1685), &c., in the possession of Lord Mostyn, Mostyn Hall. This long list is supplementary to the seventy-four items—referring to about one hundred and four places—gathered by Ormerod in his endeavour in some measure to make good the lost Roll for Cheshire. I am sure that in some of these MSS. I have mentioned there could be found much valuable matter bearing on the Domesday history of the two counties.

I should like to make a suggestion which I feel would be a most fitting commemoration of the eighth centenary of the completion of Domesday. That every available source should be searched for references to this valuable Record of Chester, and by collation make it perfect as far as may be. I feel that some of the notes I have given might possibly lead to the finding of the "'imbecilled' Roll of Cheshire," which alone would repay the trouble. It is possible that in some library as at Toft, or at Shakerley, or at Tabley, in the hands of succeeding owners, will be found either the imbecilled original or a copy, which would be practically as good as the original. It would indeed be a worthy offering to the Record of eight centuries ago, if we now, with all our modern photozincography or other yet more approved appliance, could gather up all the stray threads and complete so important a national monument.

[The succeeding notes were read at Stockport, on 27th May, 1886.]

In the first volume of Domesday Book (1783) there are three hundred and eighty-three membranes *a* and *b*, equal

to seven hundred and seventy-six pages. In all these there are sixty-five wholly blank; five, seven-eighths blank; thirteen, three-fourths blank; eight, five-eighths blank; seventeen, one-half blank, and so on, giving a total of one hundred and twenty-three pages, which is practically one-sixth of the whole *entirely blank*. The portion of the pages occupied by the writing varies in some records from fifteen inches in depth to ten and a half inches, so that if all the scribes had copied alike, the actual number of membranes used might have been one hundred fewer in vol. i. alone. Looking at that part of vol. i. containing Cestrescire (Chestershire), we find two pages wholly blank and gaps in six others, giving in the aggregate one blank, making three pages wholly blank. In that part of the record, "Inter Ripam et Mersham," we find three wholly blank and two others together seven-eighths so, making with the blanks in the last-mentioned part six seven-eighths pages wholly blanks; if to these be added the thirteen pages actually occupied by the record of Cheshire and the one and a half taken up by that relating to "Inter Ripam et Mersham," we have a total of twenty-one pages, about the space the two counties ought to have occupied, seeing that Middlesex, with its many owners, is on eight pages, Cornwall on nine, and Staffordshire on the same number only.

The list of Cheshire vills, mentioned in vol. i. as being in the Hamestan hundred (which was practically co-extensive with the present hundred and forest of Macclesfield), contains only thirty-four places, including two Warnets (Werneth), two Boteleges (Butley), and two other places. There are, however, about twenty-four places in the hundred omitted, and of which there is not any domesday record.

We all know how the survey was taken—before commissioners. Those for the midlands were Remigius, bishop of Lincoln; Walter Gifford, earl of Buckingham; Henry

de Ferers; and Adam, the brother of Eudo Dapifer. These, upon the oaths of the sheriffs—the lords of each manor; the presbyters of every church; the reeves of every hundred; and the bailiffs and six villans of every village were to enquire into and record the name of the place who held T. R. E. (in the time of King Edward the Confessor), who was the present possessor, how many hides; how many carrucates in demesne; how many persons yielding service of a higher kind; how many villani; how many cotarii (cottars); how many servi (slaves); how many Bordarii (Boors or Bordars); how many tenants in socage; what quantity of marsh, wood, meadow, pasture; what mills, fishponds, and rights of fishery; how much added or taken away and added to other manors; what were the customs of the manors; what the gross value, T. R. E.; what the present value; and all this was to be triply estimated: 1. As the estate was held T. R. E., and its value. 2. As it was bestowed by William the Conqueror. 3. As to its value at the time of the survey.

It is certain that in some counties, and in the original rolls—probably in all—the number and variety of the live stock were inserted in the returns, and it is extremely probable that when the Exchequer Domesday was excerpted from the rolls, the irrelevant matter appears to have been struck out, while in others it was retained. In this opinion Sir Henry Ellis concurs.

In 38 Henry III. there was produced in evidence, in an assize in the county of Chester, a roll called the Domesday of Chester, and it was mentioned by the judges in their judgment, in the King's Bench, where the case had been removed by *certiorari*. Dugdale cites a Domesday Ebor, which is still at York. We know of a Domesday of St. Paul's, of Winton (1148), of Ely (1083), of Exon (1083), and the Boldon Book for Durham (1183).

Turning to another part of the book for evidence of contradiction in terms, I would, if space permitted, enlarge and show from internal evidence in "Exon," that as far as regards entries from page 27 to 457, the returns seem exhaustive enough, and that not even "one swine was omitted," although two hundred and eighteen vaccas (cows) have been recorded and one hundred and forty-two boves (oxen), there is but one taurus (bull). There are, however, four hundred and forty animalia (animals). The latter do not include *runcini* nor *equas*, nor *equas cum pullis*, nor *equas indomitas*, nor *equus indomitus*, nor *equus sivestris*, nor *equas silvestras*, nor the forty *pues* (?), nor the thirteen caballos, nor the three he-asses. And we must conclude, that whilst in some manors we have a detailed account of cows, swine, sheep, wethers, she-goats, and *animalia ociosa*, the one thousand four hundred and forty animalia must have contained *tauri* in some considerable numbers, or the race must perforce have died out.

On page 267*b* in Cestrescire we have an example of an entry wherein it is evident that during the inquiry some additional evidence was adduced, which led to the erasure by ruling out of such entries (unless it be the transcriber's error) and its repetition in extenso on the next page. I allude to the four lines respecting Gretford in Exestan hundred on p. 267*b*, and its enlargement to twelve lines on p. 268*a*. In the first we have Rainald holds of Earl Hugh, and in the second we find that Hugh and Osbern and Rainald hold Gretford. As Hugo Comes held the succeeding and many of the preceding, this Hugo may have been the Comes—the Osbern—Osb fil Tezzonis (also of Warburton), and the Rainald he who held Erpestock, p. 267*b*. If the error be that of the transcriber, it is singular, for if the usually presumed care had been exercised the erasures might have been avoided. The erased entry evidently refers

to Rainald's portion only. In most of the entries respecting other counties we find "Terra Regis," but in Cheshire and Shropshire they do not occur. In Somersetshire the names of the tenants, as enumerated at the beginning, do not answer to the arrangement of the return, and at the beginning of Cheshire they are omitted altogether. In vol. ii., Essex, p. 17, ten names are entered, and erased by two lines saltirewise; but the reason for this erasure is not patent, as the names agree with the owners and run in right order, unless it was found that the list had been given on page 1. The erasures, however, furnish information which is wanting in the list on page 1 in three instances—Berch in Berchingis, Aldreda, the name of the patron saint of Ely Abbey, and Martin, the name of the patron saint, De Bello (Battle Abbey). The returns, however, fortunately, also contained these names. Domesday is also silent about the castles of Halton and Durham, though made caputs of baronies by Hugh Lupus.

Now where Domesday proves too much: "In Sciropesberie (Shrewsbury) 'civitate facit Rogerius Comes Abbatiam; et eidem dedit Monasterium St. Petri ubi erat parochia civitatis.' In the church of St. Peter here alluded to Roger of Arundel, *alias* R. de Belesme and Roger de Montgomery, in 1083 vowed the construction of an abbey, placing his gloves upon the altar in token of his intent." Such is the account of Ordericus Vitalis (Dug. iii. 513). On turning to Cal. Rot. Pat., p. 109, 4 E. III., we read that the king confirmed to the Abbot of St. Peter's, Salop, certain manors, &c., including "Medietatem piscariæ de Merse," near Thelwall, granted to him by Ranulf, sometime Earl of Chester; and in the same volume, p. 201, 3 R. II., more ample confirmation of all previous grants to the Abbot of Salop, "Et notandum quod Hugo Comes Cestriae fuit fundator ejusdem in anno. 1087, et anno. 20 Willi

Conquestris." This note was made, evidently correcting the statement, three hundred years after Domesday was written. There is also the inquiry, "Who founded the monastery, and who the abbey?"

The copying was only partial, or only part of what was copied has come down to us, for Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham are not described in the survey, neither is Lancashire under its proper title; but Furness and the northern part of the county, as well as the south of Westmoreland, with part of Cumberland, are included with the West Riding of Yorkshire. That part of Lancashire which lies between the Ribble and the Mersey, which in 1086 comprehended six hundreds and one hundred and eighty-eight manors, is subjoined to Cheshire, and strange to say, part of Rutlandshire is described in the counties of Northants and Lincoln. At the end of the Atiscross Hundred in Cheshire we find North Wales occupying four lines only (269*a*), and there are eleven manors included "in Marcha de Walis" on 186*b* in eight lines only. On folio 269 there are three entries respecting manors in Cheshire "nunquam geldavit nec hidata fuit." This is also applied "In hoc eodem in est silva una nunquam geldavit, nec hidata fuit."

It must therefore be universally regretted that the more ample record has not been handed down to us instead of the imperfect one before us.

NOTES ON CHURCH RESTORATION.

BY ROBERT LANGTON, F.R.HIST. SOC.

IN the following paper I have sought, first, to point out to some extent the wrong that has been done under the mistaken notion that in the repairs to the fabrics I shall mention (our fine mediæval churches) they were being restored to their original condition; and in the second place to embody a few notes on the so-called restorations of some of our ancient and more important churches, which have come under my own notice during the last thirty-five years.

I need scarcely remark that the few instances I shall have time to mention are by no means exhaustive of the theme, but are, on the contrary, merely an introduction to a very sad story of spoliation and wilful destruction.

Any one who has at all studied this subject of church restoration will, I think, cordially agree with me that, while in many modern instances satisfactory reparation and even renovation has been made, yet in far more numerous cases during the last half century irreparable mischief has been wrought on some of our stateliest ecclesiastical buildings over the whole of England.

I have no hesitation in saying that in by far the greater number of our beautiful parish churches, and in many of our cathedrals, which have passed through this ordeal of restoration, the lapse of time, indeed whole centuries of

neglect, has done far less damage than the misdirected zeal of the well-meaning enthusiasts, who like to see everything about them dazzlingly new and bright.

This destruction of our finest monuments of antiquity has, however, been going on much longer than fifty years, though it is within the last forty years that the overwhelming wave of restoration has accomplished the greatest mischief. *Ninety* years ago, Mr. John Carter, in the pages of *Sylvanus Urban*, was deploring the wanton destruction inflicted on our most precious monuments of English ecclesiastical architecture. In these papers of his the incongruities introduced into the restorations and rebuildings of his time are scornfully, but truthfully, described as "The fantastic order of architecture."

If "An Architect," as John Carter signed himself, had lived to these days, how would his gentle spirit have been exercised by contemplating the "fantastic tricks" played in many cases by persons (in some cases by parsons) who ought to have known better?

As far as my reading on this subject goes, Carter was the first professional architect to perceive and to raise his voice against the Vandals who, under the pretence of restoration, were, even in his days, rapidly destroying "all the houses of God in the land." Since his time, however, real students of pointed architecture have arisen who have done very excellent work in the judicious repair of many of our famous churches. Amongst the earliest of these were Rickman, the Pugins, father and son, followed by the Scotts, father and son, and in the present day by a host of clever, sympathetic architects, whose names will occur to all.

But the days of wanton destruction of our ancient parish churches are by no means at an end. There are still occasionally to be seen in these so-called restorations examples of the "fantastic order of architecture;" and this danger,

lamentable enough at all times, is, I am sorry to say, fostered by a portion of the clergy, who, having but little real love for antiquity, and a weakness for everything that is smart and new-looking, are constantly going far beyond substantial and necessary repairs, and are in many cases turning our venerable, "solemn temples" "into something *new* and strange."

They are, in fact, gradually bringing our really fine old parish churches to that oppressively glaring state of gold and colour thus described by Robert Herrick in his *Hesperides*—

> So that where'ere ye look ye see
> No capitoll, no cornice free,
> Or frieze, from this fine fripperie.

Some thirty years since (May 1st, 1855), at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, the following memorandum was drawn up and printed. It is too long, perhaps, to give it in its entirety, but here is an extract:—

"The numerous instances of the destruction of the character of ancient monuments (including, of course, churches) which are taking place, under the pretence of restoration, induce the executive committee, to which the Society of Antiquaries has entrusted the management of its 'conservation fund,' to call the special attention of the society to the subject, in the hope that its influence may be exerted to stop, or at least moderate, the pernicious practice. The evil is an increasing one; and it is to be feared that, unless a strong and immediate protest be made against it, the monumental remains of England will before long cease to exist as truthful records of the past. Though time and neglect may impair, and eventually destroy, they do not add to a building; nor do they pervert the truthfulness of monuments. Restoration may possibly, indeed, produce a good imitation of an ancient work of art; but the original is thus falsified, and in its renovated state it is no

longer an example of the art of the period to which it belonged. Unfortunately, too, the more exact the imitation the more it is adapted to mislead posterity; and even the best imitation must unavoidably impair the historical interest and artistic value of the prototype, so that, in truth, a monument restored is frequently a monument destroyed. Did the public at large really know how imperfectly the principles and practice of ancient art are understood, and how very few of the so-called restorations have any just pretensions to fidelity, or could they appreciate the rash presumption of those who in general recommend and undertake such work, much less would be heard of money being lavishly spent in thus perpetrating irreparable mischief with the best intentions. The committee strongly urge that, except where restoration is called for in churches by the requirements of divine service, or in other cases of manifest public utility, no restoration should ever be attempted otherwise than as the word 'restoration' may be understood in the sense of preservation from further injuries by time or negligence. They contend that anything beyond this is untrue in art, unjustifiable in taste, destructive in practice, and wholly opposed to the judgment of the best archæologists."

There is one passage in the foregoing extract which would furnish materials for a paper in itself; it is that which touches on the misleading nature of many of these restorations. It is sometimes difficult for an ordinary observer to discover which is new and which original work. The old face of the work being dressed off, the historical continuity of the whole is destroyed. This, however, is often only for a time; for I have found that, whether from bad workmanship or bad materials, or both, the restored portions are often of so ephemeral a nature that further "restorations" will be absolutely necessary at frequent intervals. I lately saw a church

in the midland counties which had been restored less than twenty years since. In this case some external mouldings and corbel tables of the decorated period had been restored, and the carved heads on the latter had nearly crumbled away; while the original work closely adjoining, which had withstood the frost and heat of five centuries, was still perfectly sound.

Of interior woodwork it would almost seem as if the art of seasoning timber had been lost, and as if dry-rot was an unknown quantity. I will mention two cases near Manchester. During the restorations at Middleton in 1869-70 the floor of the nave was relaid with apparently sound timber. In six years this floor had so completely decayed that planks had to be placed in the pews to prevent worshippers from slipping through the holes. At Wilmslow Church (which I shall have to refer to again presently) a floor of the south aisle of the chancel was relaid three times in eight years! This was from dry-rot; yet the adjacent oak parclose screens of sixteenth-century work remain as sound as ever.

I will now take, in the order I have made them, a few notes of the examples of restoration that have come under my own observation. In all these cases more or less serious and even irreparable injury has been done, either by the ignorance of churchwardens and vestries, or the gross incompetence and carelessness of the architect employed.

St. Saviour's, Southwark, otherwise known as St. Mary Overies, is perhaps the worst case on record. Some fifty years since it was one of the very finest cruciform parish churches in England. In the south transept may still be seen the tomb and effigy of the poet Gower. This fine church had been alternately patched and neglected for many years, one vestry undoing what another had done, till at length the spacious nave, which was partly of Norman work, and in which a brother of Shakspere was interred,

was wantonly pulled down. On its site has been built what was then supposed to be an Early English nave of brick, with side galleries, and the usual "churchwarden Gothic" abominations. The floor, which should have been on a level with those of the transepts, has been raised eight or ten feet, and this modern ideal church is approached by mean wooden stairs under the central tower. By this wanton destruction, and similar injudicious restorations to the choir and Lady Chapel, the effect of the whole church is of course totally and hopelessly ruined.

Southwell Minster (now the cathedral church of the diocese) has suffered from a great deal of imperfect work on the exterior, the material used being perishable, and much of it, after only a few years, requiring a second restoration.

In the case of Beverley Minster (where is to be seen some of the finest Early English carving in existence anywhere), the restorers have had the doubtful advantage of plenty of funds at their disposal. Here some of the worst incongruities of last century restorers have been happily obliterated, but this noble miniature copy of York Minster still shows unmistakable signs of having known bad times.

York Minster has suffered in times past, but not to the same extent as some of our other glorious cathedral churches. In the two great fires of 1829 and 1840, the entire roofs of both choir and nave were destroyed, and the south-west tower, where the second fire broke out, was gutted. The restoration of this tower by Smirke is the greatest eyesore in the interior, he having used iron girders of a very unsightly character. The plate-glass placed on the outside of the fine Early English window of the north transept, known popularly as the "Five Sisters," and done with a view to protect the original stained glass, is a very questionable innovation, and it would certainly be better

and look better without it. It is impossible here to refrain from speaking in terms of the highest approval of the way in which the south transept of this church has been lately restored; it is in every way satisfactory and successful, and the same may ungrudgingly be said of all the repairs and renovations now in course of completion.

Of Durham it may be said that, though now most carefully guarded against the wiles of the restorer, it has in times past suffered severely; and, notably, the very rich example of a Norman chapter house here was entirely destroyed by James Wyatt. We cannot but wonder in these days how this gentleman, who avowedly disliked what was then generally known as "Gothic architecture," and who was, as we now also know, entirely ignorant of its principles, should have been allowed to perpetrate the mischief he did in many of our finest cathedrals. I will not now dwell on his performances farther than to say that he destroyed the western tower and a large part of the fine vaultings of the nave at Hereford, and that at Salisbury he pulled down the Campanile which stood detached from the main building, like that to be seen to-day at Chichester, and that he reduced the floors in the interior of the church to one uniform level, so that till quite lately the bases of very many of the marble columns were buried under the pavement. He also rearranged the position of the monuments, and all but destroyed the choir.

Lincoln Minster has suffered in later years from the same complaint as that of Beverley, too much money. Much of its exterior surface has recently been refaced, and the glorious tints of time obliterated for no sufficient reason. This cathedral had originally three spires like Lichfield. The great, or central spire, was blown down in the sixteenth century; and in 1807 the two western spires were removed for a mere whim. A rhymer in the *Gentleman's Magazine*

for January, 1808, commemorates the destruction in a number of verses. I will give the first verse only; and I could wish the rhyme had been as good as the reason :—

> Adieu, ye twin sisters, fair spires,
> By learn'd architects anciently raised;
> Now removed to indulge the desires
> Of Right Reverend Professors of Taste.

I may add that a few days since I had the privilege of seeing the nave of Lincoln lighted up for the first time with gas.

At Lichfield the destroyer has had the whole building at his mercy. In the interior the screens, monuments, and even the carved bosses of the roof have been cruelly treated; and amongst the damage done on the outside of the building, the whole of the glorious west front was some seventy years since covered with stucco, and the surface of the stone was of course well hacked to make the cement adhere. This plaster has recently been removed, and the carved figures of saints and martyrs fairly restored in stone.

Rochester Cathedral. Here the tower was taken in hand some sixty years since by Cottingham, and from an interesting and almost unique specimen of a Norman tower, somewhat like that at Winchester, it has been changed to a modern-looking and very mean type of perpendicular work. The fine Norman west front was at the same time partially restored in the poorest conceivable taste.

The last of the cathedrals I will mention is ours of Manchester. Originally a fine specimen of rather late perpendicular work, with some features of an earlier or transition style, Manchester Old Church has been so patched and plastered, veneered outside, and almost rebuilt within, that very little of its ancient character remains. I am bound, however, to say, and have much pleasure in saying, that though some of the work now in hand cannot in any sense be said to be a true restoration, yet the work is being

done with extreme care and skill, and is in every way a credit to Mr. Crowther, the architect, his clever clerk of the works, and the no less clever head mason.

Of the parish churches that have come under my notice, all over England (besides that of St. Saviour's already mentioned), I shall only have time to mention three or four out of probably some hundreds. First, there is St. Botolph's, Boston, Lincolnshire. This is one of the largest churches in England. It has suffered both mutilation and disfigurement. Towards the end of last century the whole of this church was vaulted in thin woodwork and plaster, &c., below a splendid timbered roof. The effect of the church is thus entirely spoiled. There are, however, compensations at Boston, for the lofty lantern tower was a few years since completed by Sir Gilbert Scott, and vaulted in stone at a height of about one hundred and seventy feet from the pavement of the church. Then there is the Cotton chapel, in the south-west angle of the church, which has lately been beautifully restored by friends in Boston, U.S.

A ludicrous contrast of gorgeous paint and squalor came under my notice a few weeks since. I was at Kirton, in south-east Lincolnshire, and, of course, went to see the handsome and extensive church. It has severely suffered from the would-be restorers, but is refulgent in new paint. On going to inspect one of the aisles, my eye was attracted to a large square family pew, and on looking into it I saw—what? a load of coals! Yes, and in an adjoining pew there were coalboxes, brushes, &c.

All Saints', Oakham, a very large and stately church of Ketton stone, has been restored by Sir G. G. Scott, and everything about it has been thoroughly well done. I well remember this church before he took it in hand in 1855, and it was in a deplorably neglected state. Will it be believed that the pulpit and reading-desk retained the black

cloth with which it was covered at the death of King William the Fourth? The regrettable part of this *Restoration* is the destruction and removal of monuments, some of them having been placed in the tower, and some have gone no one knows whither. The external effect of this fine church has also been marred by the levelling of the churchyard. Ashwell, a beautiful little decorated church in the same county (Rutland), has also been very conscientiously restored; but decay seems to be doing its work with the new masonry very rapidly, as is too frequently the case.

I will complete the list with a church already mentioned, which is nearer home—that of St. Bartholomew's, Wilmslow. This church was altered, I cannot call it restored, in 1863. It had then certainly a venerable appearance, something old-world and quaint, you will say! It took some £7,000 sterling to convert this old building into a spick and span, brand-new looking church. I have a large water-colour drawing I made of this church ten years after the other, viz., in 1872. A very short description of the alterations must suffice. In the first place, a score or two of dead bodies were removed to make room for a transeptal chapel, with heating apparatus beneath; the plain oak timbered roofs of the aisles of the nave were panelled with deal at £1 a panel; a chancel arch was built where no chancel arch was ever seen before; the ancient seats of solid oak, the first benches ever placed in the nave of the church, and which had existed for a century or two under the seats of a more modern, but still old set of pews, were removed; many of the monuments altogether disappeared, including some to the memory of the Trafford family; the painted benefaction boards were removed from the walls and thrust aside behind the organ like "benefits forgot;" the ancient font was shifted into the churchyard, and replaced by a very poor new one; and lastly, when the

church was re-opened, the old parishioners, mostly farmers, were put out in the cold, while a new set of people, mostly from the large houses on Alderley Edge, were installed in the best places in the church. It is, alas! too frequently the case that, in altering and re-seating an old parish church, heart-burnings and jealousies arise that it will take a full generation to allay.

In concluding this paper, I may remark that, though critical investigators of ancient church architecture, including all lovers of truth and genuineness, will not need to be reminded of the terrible significance of the word RESTORATION in these latter times, it is still the duty of this society, and of all kindred societies all over the country, to do their best to discourage this wanton and ignorant destruction of our national monuments of antiquity.

THE ANCIENT LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE LOCAL COURTS OF CIVIL JURISDICTION.

BY CHAS. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.

ENGLISH courts of justice are best classified and distinguished according to the nature of their jurisdictions. They all have one common origin—grant from the crown, either express or implied—for, as Blackstone reminds us, the sole executive power of the laws being vested in the sovereign, every medium, by which such laws are administered, is derived from the crown, either through a charter or an Act of Parliament, or through prescription—the consent of the sovereign being, in the two first cases, expressly, and, in the latter case, impliedly given.

Some courts have extensive, others very limited, prerogatives: the civil courts of the latter class being confined in jurisdiction (1) as to territory, (2) as to class of suitors, (3) as to nature of dispute, and (4) as to amount of claim. These civil courts of contracted jurisdiction are again distinguishable *inter se* by their possessing, or not possessing, the right of ordering the imprisonment or arrest of persons, they being respectively known as "inferior courts of *record*,"

or "inferior courts *not* of record." The difference between these two classes of inferior civil courts can best be shown by the following definitions given by Blackstone:—

"A court of record is that where the acts and judicial proceedings are enrolled or recorded: which rolls are called the records of the court, and are of such high authority that their truth is not to be called in question." "A court not of record is the court of a private man; whom the law will not entrust with any discretionary power over the fortune or liberty of his fellow-subjects. Such are the courts-baron, incident to every manor, and such other inferior jurisdictions, where the proceedings are not enrolled or recorded; but as well their existence, as their truth, shall be tried and determined by a jury."

I shall in this paper assume that all of us are familiar with the constitution and practice of an ordinary English court of justice, either with or without a jury—a familiarity gained by either pleasant outside study or unpleasant inside experience. I shall also assume that we are all acquainted with the general history and constitution of all those great Westminster civil courts which have existed in the present century; for these are all of *national* importance and interest: (*a*) the Queen's Bench *(Bancum regis)*, the Common Pleas or Common Bench *(Commune Bancum)*, the Exchequer and the courts of Nisi Prius; these all being common law courts of first instance, and all recently merged into the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice; (*b*) the High Court of Chancery (including the courts of the Master of the Rolls and of the three Vice-Chancellors), this being the equity court of first instance; and (*c*) the Courts of Bankruptcy, Admiralty, Probate and Divorce, and, generally, the courts now included in the Supreme Court of Judicature; as well as (*d*) the Courts of "Exchequer-Chamber" (now quite abolished), Chancery

Appeal, Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Law Lords' Court, or Committee of the House of Lords; these being the great courts of appeal.

But the inferior or local courts are not so much a matter of history or of common knowledge; and a paper, dealing with these courts generally, would be found to be not without interest to any antiquary or even general student; while a paper—as the present is—on the local courts (some superior courts, others, inferior courts) of Lancashire and Cheshire, may prove to be not only of interest but of value to our Society.

Most English counties have, or have had, these local courts; but these were almost invariably of the class known as inferior courts, some being "of record," others "not of record." Lancashire stands pre-eminent among English counties as the possessor, for many centuries, of not only numerous influential inferior courts (some of which have been spared, when those of almost every other county were replaced by the new county courts), but of powerful superior courts, nearly equal in jurisdiction to the great courts of Westminster. This latter privilege our home county derives from its position as a county palatine—a position which, shared by Cheshire and Durham, gave these latter counties also exceptional, but (compared with the former county) inferior judicial rights. Lancashire, though the youngest of the three English palatinates, has been, says Coke, "the best beloved of all the others; for it had more honours, manors and lands annexed to it than any of the rest" (4 Inst. 2111); and, in our day, this favouritism has been preserved (owing partly to royalty's ownership of the duchy, and partly to the development of commercial enterprise in the county), with the result, that Lancashire now stands alone in the possession of palatinate judicial privileges.

The following is the plan of my paper: First, I will deal

with the origin and causes of establishment of local courts in Lancashire and Cheshire; secondly, I will classify the various local civil courts of these counties; thirdly, I will give a list (made as exhaustive as possible) of such of those courts as were in operation at the time of the New County Courts Acts; lastly, I will give notes on the history, constitution, and practice of these peculiar and interesting tribunals, commencing at the most ancient and concluding with the latest class of obsolete inferior courts.

First. The origin and causes of establishment of local courts in Lancashire and Cheshire. We shall find, when studying this part of our subject closely, that the two counties in question owe their possession of local courts to all or most of the following circumstances: 1. The survival of Saxon laws and procedure (instances, the Hundred Courts, and the old County Courts, and some of the Courts Baron and Leet). 2. The preservation of feudal rules and practices (instances, most of the Courts Baron and Leet). 3. Grants of palatinate rights (instances, the numerous special Palatine Courts of Common Law and Equity). 4. Mediæval charters to boroughs or intended boroughs (instances, the old Borough Courts). 5. Special statutory enactments, occasioned by the growth of commercial business, particularly in Lancashire (instances, Courts of Request and the new County Courts).

As many of our local civil courts, to be particularly noticed in this paper, date from Saxon times, and as others, dating from a later period (*e.g.*, early Norman), were formed on the laws of the Saxon system of judicature, we shall best grasp our subject by taking a rapid review of the latter system. This system of judicature was based on the division of land. In the thaneland the thane himself was the judge: so the judge of the reve-land was the *reve* or *shire-reve* (hence sheriff), whose great court was called the *reve-mote* or *shire mote*, and at other times the *sole-mote*. There was a lower

court than this (the *folc-mote*); but, as it has not survived to us, I need not describe its constitution or practice. The limits, between the official judicature of the king's courts and that of the court belonging to the lord, were strictly preserved: only when the lord had no court, or refused to do justice; or when the contest was between a vassal of one and a vassal of another; then the suit was referred to the king's court, namely, to the *reve-mote* of the sheriff.

The great court called the *tourn*, held on circuit by the sheriff and bishop in every hundred in the county, was the grand *criminal* court—in which all offences, both ecclesiastical and civil, were tried—and of which the *court leet* was an offspring—and does not come within the scope of this paper.

The great court for *civil* business was the *county court*, held once every four weeks: there the sheriff presided, but the *suitors of the court*, as they were called, that is, the freemen of landholders of the county, were the judges, and the sheriff was to execute the judgment, assisted, if need were, by the bishop. Once a year, at the Easter tourn or circuit, the sheriff and bishop were to hold also a *view of frankpledge;* that is, to see that every person above twelve years of age had taken the oaths of allegiance, and found nine *freemen pledges* for his peaceable demeanour.

Out of the county court was derived an inferior court of civil jurisdiction, called the *hal-mote* or *court-baron*. This was held from three weeks to three weeks, and was in every respect like the county court; only the lord, to whom this franchise was granted, or his steward, presided instead of the sheriff.

Beside these inferior courts there was a superior court, known by the name of the *wittenagemote*, which had a concurrent jurisdiction with them, but which need not be here described.

William the Conqueror seems to have not done much—nor did his immediate successors—to disturb the old Saxon system of local judicature, he apparently finding the system suited to the disturbed and unsettled state of the midland and northern portions of the country. One innovation, however, of the Conqueror gradually led to the establishment of our three late superior courts of common law: it was the introduction into this country of the office of *chief justiciar*, and the gradual centralisation of judicial power in the *aula regis or supreme council of the sovereign*—a court which was invested with some most important functions of a purely judicial nature. But what concerned Lancashire and Cheshire most was the practice, which sprang up or which was directly ordained by one of the early Norman monarchs, of directing *assizes* to be occasionally held by *justices itinerant*, who were commissioned to hold circuits for the administration of justice in counties and districts where the supreme court, presided over by the chief justiciar, or even by the king himself, did not chance to be.

Edward I. has (says Sir Matthew Hale) been well "styled our English Justinian; for in his time the law, *quasi per saltum*, obtained a very great perfection." He first established and distributed the several jurisdictions of the superior courts within their proper limits. "He also," says Hale, "settled the bounds of inferior courts, not only of counties, but of hundreds, and courts baron, which he kept within their proper and narrow bounds."

Among the ancient local civil courts established under the Saxon system, and dating either from Saxon times, or from the Norman or mediæval periods (and not depending on palatinate rights), are the following Lancashire and Cheshire courts—the only ones, beside the sheriffs' or old county courts, left in force a quarter of a century ago in our two counties.

Hundred and Baronial Courts.

A.—LANCASHIRE.

1. The Wapentake* Court of the Queen, of Her Hundred of *Amounderness* (a court not of record), the jurisdiction of which was for debt under forty shillings, if contracted within the district (viz., the hundred of Amounderness), and which could enforce its judgment by seizure and sale of goods.

2. The Court Baron for the Wapentake of *Blackburn*—which had similar status, jurisdiction and powers.

3. The Court Baron for the Wapentake or Liberty of *Bowland*—having similar status, jurisdiction and powers.

4. The Court Baron for the Liberty of *Furness*—having similar status, jurisdiction and powers.

5. The Hundred Court of *Lonsdale*—having similar status, jurisdiction and powers.

6. The Court Baron of the Manor of *Manchester*—having similar status, jurisdiction and powers.

7. The Court Baron of the Manor of *Rochdale*—having similar status, jurisdiction and powers; the *parish* of Rochdale being the extent of its jurisdiction.

8. The Hundred Court of *Salford* (a court of record by statute), now well known as giving name to the amalgamated court, formed of the Manchester and Salford respective civil debt courts, a history and account of the old and present jurisdictions of which would of themselves form a long and interesting paper.

9. The Court for the Fee of *Tottington* (a court not of

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* The hundred court was called a *wapentake* in the northern counties, from the Saxon *wapen*, arms, and *tac*, a touch; because, when the chief of the hundred entered upon his office, he appeared in the field on a certain day on horseback, with a pike in his hand, and all the principal men met him there with lances; when, he alighting, they touched his pike with their lances as a token of submission to his authority (Crabb, p. 25).

record), having similar jurisdiction and powers to the Blackburn court, its territorial jurisdiction being the *wapentake* of Tottington.

B.—CHESHIRE.

1. The Court of the Liberty of the Hundred of *Macclesfield* (a court of record), the jurisdiction of which in debt was unlimited if the cause of action arose within the bounds of the Forest of Macclesfield [for which see 4 Rep. C. L. Comm.'s, app. i., p. 371, n. (a)], and whose judgments could be enforced on body and goods.

2. The Court of the Manor and Forest of *Macclesfield* (also a court of record), having similar jurisdiction and powers if the cause of action arose within the hundred of Macclesfield.

3. The Court Baron for the Manor of *Over*, with jurisdiction in debt of under forty shillings, if cause of action arose within the townships of Martin and Over and Swanlow hamlet; judgments being enforced on goods only.

With regard to these Lancashire and Cheshire instances of *hundred courts*, the Saxon origin and the Norman adoption of which I have already noticed, Mr. Moseley* reminds us that, on the succession of the Norman kings, the crown exercised its right, as feudal lord, in granting out numerous franchises, liberties, and hundreds in fee simple or for years, with courts attached thereto, to private individuals as a source of emolument. Upon this the statutes of 2 Edward III., c. 12 and 14, Edward III., c. 9, were passed, by which it was enacted that all hundreds and wapentakes, granted by the king, should be again annexed to the county, and the sheriff was to put in bailiffs, for which he is to answer, and no more were in future to be granted by the

* "On Inferior Courts."

crown. The statute was passed, not with a view of disturbing any of the hundred courts granted in fee by the crown, but only such as had been farmed out, though it does prevent the crown from granting such estates in fee in future. Mr. Moseley then adds that "the late Wilbraham Egerton, Esq., claimed to hold hundred courts at Bucklow, Cheshire, by virtue of a lease from the crown," and suggests that this claim "requires explanation" (and refers to Ward *v.* Bent, Freem. 204 and 7 Vin. Abr. 16). Mr. Moseley mentions among the hundred courts, that were much frequented in 1845, that of "Macclesfield, in Cheshire, belonging to the Earl of Derby."

The 30 and 31 Victoria, c. 142, s. 28 (the County Courts Act, 1867), provides that no action, capable of being brought in a county court, should thereafter be brought or maintained in any hundred or other inferior court, not being a court of record.

The above-mentioned *baronial courts* will serve as an illustration of the long-existing jurisdiction of the Courts Baron, in the trial of suits between inhabitants of the district. This jurisdiction being practically abolished (by the Act last mentioned), an account of the practice of those courts is now the subject of the historian's or antiquary's research, rather than the professional work of the legal practitioner; although the ordinary copyhold tenure practice (which is *not* abolished) of those courts forms a common item in the professional duties of the youngest practitioner.

The Court Baron, although not a court of record, is incident to every manor, and cannot be severed therefrom. It was ordained for the maintenance of the services and duties stipulated for by lords of manors, and for the purpose of determining actions of a personal nature where the debt or damage was under forty shillings. The court might be held at any place *within* the manor, was frequently held together

with the court leet, and generally assembled but once in the year. The *freehold* tenants alone were suitors to the court, as they were practically its judges; the steward being rather the registrar than the judge.

The extent of local judicature in feudal times can be roughly arrived-at by considering the fact, that, at the time of the Doomsday survey, the present county of Lancaster alone had above two hundred and thirty manors, beside the greater baronies, or sub-baronies, of West Derby (an honour), Widnes, Warrington, Manchester, Rochdale, Clitheroe (an honour), Newton, Penwortham, Garstang, Hornby (an honour), Cartmel, Ulverston, Nether Wyrsedale, and Weeton.

"*Courts of Ancient Demesne*" are courts baron in connection with lands (like those, for instance, of the honour of Clitheroe), held in "ancient demesne," that is, the lands shown in Doomsday Book to have been then lately the possessions of Edward the Confessor.

Sheriff's Court.

With regard to the *Sheriff's* or old *County Court*, as adopted and regulated by the Norman, Plantagenet, and Tudor sovereigns, Blackstone tells us that it was (in his day) not a court of record, but that it might hold pleas of debt or damages under the value of forty shillings; over some of which causes these inferior courts had, by the express words of the statute of Gloucester, a jurisdiction totally exclusive of the king's superior courts. The County Court might, he further says, also hold plea of many real actions, and of all personal actions to any amount, by virtue of a special writ called a *justicies;* which was a writ empowering the sheriff, for the sake of despatch, to do the same justice in his county court, as might otherwise be had at Westminster. The freeholders of the county were still, in Blackstone's time, the

real judges in this court, and the sheriff was the ministerial officer. The court could be held at any place within the county at the pleasure of the sheriff, but not out of it; yet by statute (33 Henry VIII., c. 30) the sheriff of Cheshire was compelled to keep his county court in the Shire Hall of that county.

Moseley, in his "Inferior Courts," says (1845) an exceptional (it is said, irregular) practice prevailed in the county court of the county palatine of Lancaster, where, "although the suitors . . . were, or ought to have been, the judges in practice, two barristers were appointed yearly by the under sheriff, who sat in different courts to try causes, and who, or one of whom, received all the fees;" and refers us on the subject to Mr. Addison's evidence in the Parl. Rep. on the County Court of Lancaster, xxix. ap., 1836. Of this same court Baines (in his History, 1824) says, on the other hand, that, "so far as relates to the recovery of small demands, it possesses probably greater practice and efficiency than any other similar court, owing to an Act of 35 George III. (1794-5)—peculiar to the county palatine of Lancaster—prohibiting the removal of causes without bail, when the debt or damage is under £10." The same historian tells us that, "in accordance with immemorial usage, the court has been held every Tuesday month at Preston; but afterwards, in addition to this, it regularly adjourned its monthly sittings from Preston to Manchester, on the Thursday following," and that "the sheriff retained a barrister to preside in court."

Borough and City Courts.

Before dealing with the courts of *palatine* creation, we must briefly refer to certain (generally still more) ancient *borough* and *city courts* (of Lancashire and Cheshire), which, like the local inferior courts already enumerated, survived in the two counties up to 1868.

Those of LANCASHIRE were the following, being five out of the total number of one hundred and nineteen throughout England :—

1. "The Court of Pleas for the Borough of *Clitheroe*"—having jurisdiction in debt under forty shillings (or, by writ, unlimited), confined to the borough of Clitheroe. Judgments enforced on body and goods.

2. "The Court of Pleas, of our Lady the Queen, for the Borough of *Lancaster*"—with jurisdiction in debt unlimited, confined to the borough, with enforcement of judgments on body or goods.

3. "The Court of *Passage* of the Borough of *Liverpool*"—with jurisdiction in debt unlimited of over forty shillings; confined to borough. Judgments enforced on body and goods. This is a court which has long been in active operation, and which, like the Salford Hundred Court—which it also resembles in many points of its interesting history and practice—has, in spite of its great antiquity, survived the ruthless hands of recent judicial reformers.

4. "The Court of Pleas for the Borough of *Preston*"—having similar jurisdiction and powers to the last-mentioned court.

5. "The Court of Pleas for the Borough of *Wigan*"—having similar jurisdiction and powers to the last-mentioned court.

Those in CHESHIRE were the three following :—

1. "The Court of Pleas for the Borough of *Congleton*"—with jurisdiction in debt for unlimited amount, confined to the borough; the judgments being enforced on body, lands, or goods.

2. "The *Port-mote Court* of the City and County of *Chester*"—with similar jurisdiction and powers in the city and county only. (This court would appear to have died a natural death before 1830.)

3. "The *Prentice* or Pentice Court of the City and County of *Chester*"—with similar jurisdiction and powers.

The above eight courts differ from the old "courts of request," chiefly in that they were not, as were the latter (including the old Manchester Court of Requests), abolished by the County Courts Act of 1846, they not becoming obsolete until the latter County Courts Act, already mentioned, came into operation.

The jurisdiction, if over forty shillings, seems to have been concurrent with the Westminster courts, or (if the court was within a palatine county) with the palatine court. To found a jurisdiction, the residence of the defendant, within the territorial jurisdiction, would appear to have been immaterial, so long as the debt was contracted within it.

With regard to such borough courts generally, before the passing of the Municipal Corporation Act, every city, or borough, might (by grant or prescription, or Act of Parliament) have such a court; and nearly every old borough had one. Of course, where such authority arose by charter, or Act of Parliament, jurisdiction was defined by the express words of the grant; and the place and the time of the holding of any such borough court depended (generally) upon the charter, prescription, or Act of Parliament creating the court. It was usually held, up to the time of the Municipal Corporation Act, before the principal corporate officer, and the recorder or steward.

Section 1 of the Act last mentioned enacts that "so much of all laws, statutes and usages, and so much of royal and other charters, grants, and letters patent, now in force in certain boroughs [those in Lancashire and Cheshire were the following:—Lancaster, Liverpool, Preston, Wigan, Clitheroe, Chester, Congleton, Macclesfield, and Stockport], as are inconsistent with the provisions of this Act, shall be repealed and annulled."

Palatine Courts.

We now come, according to historical order, to those interesting groups of courts, established in our two counties by virtue of their respective "palatine" privileges—privileges which were inherently judicial; for "palatine" is, as we all know, derived from *palatium*, a court.

Though Cheshire is the older of the two counties, I will deal, in the first instance, with LANCASHIRE.

I need scarcely remind you that it was in the twenty-fifth year of his reign that King Edward III., having (says Reeves) promoted his favourite son John (of Gaunt), who had married a daughter of the late Henry, Duke of Lancaster, to the title of Duke of Lancaster, did, in reward of his great services in the French war, confer on him the county of Lancaster, with the power of having a chancery, and writs issuing therefrom; the appointment of justices for all pleas, civil or criminal, with officers for the due execution of justice, &c. The charters are fully set out in *Baines;* in which authority is also given an account of the transmission of the duchy through Henry Bolingbroke, and the latter's son and grandson, Henry V. and Henry VI. On the attainder of the last-named monarch, an Act was passed, vesting the Duchy, and the county palatine (made by the same Act parcel thereof), in King Edward IV. and his heirs, "Kings of England for ever." By Henry VII. the Duchy was separated from the other possessions of the crown, in order and government, but united in point of inheritance; and it has so continued to the present time.

I. We will first deal with the highest class of palatine court established in Lancashire — namely, the *Court of Chancery of the County Palatine of Lancaster.* The jurisdiction of this court was, and is, identical with the jurisdiction of the (old) High Court of Chancery, so far as the limits of the county extend. I need not—I scarcely could—better

define what this means. To the lawyer or legal antiquary this definition "speaks volumes." The jurisdiction being *in personam* (*i.e.*, by coercion of the person) within the county boundary, the court is enabled, in effect, to exercise jurisdiction over the *property* of that person, wherever it may be *situate*. The acting judge is, as is well known, the vice-chancellor of the duchy; and his court is at present, owing to his Honour's reputation for "safety," economy, and despatch, one of the busiest (I dare not say most "popular") courts in the realm.

The *Duchy Chamber of Lancaster*—is not exactly a "local" court, being stationed at Westminster; though it has a peculiar territorial jurisdiction with regard to Lancashire lands within the duchy, together with its general territorial jurisdiction over the whole of the duchy estate, comprising property in many English counties.

II. *The Court of Common Pleas at Lancaster*—which was abolished by the Judicature Act of 1873—had (says Evans, in his *Practice* of this court, in 1813) jurisdiction in "personal" actions, in all cases where the defendant, by his person or effects, was amenable to the process of the court, whether the cause of action arose within the county or elsewhere; and had also exclusive jurisdiction in all "real" actions for land within the county. It had likewise, in effect, jurisdiction exclusively of the courts at Westminster, in all actions against corporations within the county.*

III. *The Court of Star Chamber at Lancaster*—was a branch of the famous (or rather infamous) court so well known in history, and scarcely needs particular mention

* Some attempts were made about the year 1797 to commence actions in the King's Bench against the corporation of Liverpool, by taking out process directed to the sheriff of Middlesex, and obtaining a "return" thereon, that the defendants had no effects by which they could be summoned or distrained within that county. These attempts were resisted, and it was found that they could not be sustained (Evans).

here. Although its head quarters were attached to the *duchy chamber*, yet its jurisdiction was the county palatine, and not the duchy territory, and it can, therefore, be classed among "local" courts. The pleasantest record we have of this branch court is that appearing in sec. 14 of the statute, 16 Charles I. c. 10, by which it was enacted that the jurisdiction of the Star Chamber, as "now used and exercised" in "the court before the *president and council established in the northern parts*," and also "in the court, commonly called the *Court of the Duchy of Lancaster*, held before the chancellor and council of that court," and also "in the *Court of Exchequer of the County Palatine of Chester*, held before the chamberlain and council of that court," shall from the 1st August, 1641, be "repealed and absolutely revoked and made void."

The next group of superior courts are those of CHESHIRE, viz.:—

IV. *The Court of Session for the County of Chester.*—This was a superior court of record, and within the county its jurisdiction was as extensive as that of the courts at Westminster, and extended, not merely to causes of action arising within the county, but to all "personal" actions whatsoever, where the parties could be served with the process within the same, or made amenable by their effects. Its jurisdiction, beside including certain "criminal" matters, also extended to the setting aside of all "erroneous" judgments given in inferior courts in the county, and, moreover, exclusively extended to all "real" actions for land within the county. There were two judges of this court; one called the "chief justice," and the other, "the other justice;" their authority being equal, save that the chief justice managed the proceedings, and gave his opinion first. Judgment could not be given without the concurrence of the *puisne* judge, when present. Both held their offices by patent from

the crown. Two "sessions" or "assizes" were held in the year—one in the spring and the other in the summer.*

V. *The Court of Exchequer at Chester*—was a court of "equity" for the county of Chester, in which all matters, arising within the jurisdiction cognizable by a court of equity, might be determined, where the defendant resided, or had lands or effects within it. It was a "mixed" court, and the "chamberlain," who was the judge of it, might also determine matters at the "common law," within the county. It had an exclusive jurisdiction, where the subject of the suit arose, and the defendant resided, within the county; and no appeal from its decisions could be made except to Parliament. The officers of the court were the chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, "baron," deputy "baron," seal-keeper, examiner, "bailiff-itinerant," filazer, messenger, crier, and the clerks in court.

The two above courts were, with the "great sessions in Wales, abolished by 11 George IV. and 1 William IV., c. 70, s. 14, which put an end to the Cheshire palatine privileges generally.

VI. *The Court of Star Chamber at Chester*—was attached to the last-mentioned Chester court, and was abolished by the Act (of Charles I.) already quoted from.

Courts of Request.

Courts of "request," or courts of "conscience," were of comparatively recent institution. There was indeed a court called the *Court of Request*, or the *Court of White Hall*, in former times, which was held before the Lord Privy Seal and

* It may be interesting to here record, from an unpublished MS. note, that in the year 1800 the following were the "commissioners for taking special bail" in this court: John Stonehewer, of Foden Bank, in Sutton, Esquire; Joseph Jackson, of Nantwich, Gent.; Joseph Clubbe, of Congleton, Gent.; Peter Halstead, of Grappenhall, Gent.; John Clarke, of Nether Knutsford, Gent.; and Wm. Booth, of Stockport, Gent.

the Masters of Requests, a court which was finally abolished by 16 Charles I., c. 10. The first comparatively *modern* court of request was established in *London* by 3 James I., c. 15; and this, having been found useful, gave rise to others in various parts of the country and at various times up to the passing of the first County Court Act (1847). The jurisdiction and manner of proceeding in each court of requests depended upon the words of the Act of Parliament by which it existed. They were tribunals (not of record) for the recovery of small debts, generally to the amount of forty shillings only, but often to the amount of £5; and their object was examination in a summary way, and without jury, by the oath of the parties, or other witnesses, and the making of such order therein as was consonant to equity and good conscience (7 and 8 Victoria, c. 96). The county courts have superseded them, as already stated.

The following are all those that I have found to have *ever* been established in the two counties in question:—

1. That of the *Town and Port of Liverpool*—established by 25 George II., c. 43, entitled "An Act for the more easy and speedy Recovery of Small Debts in the Town and Port of Liverpoole and Liberties thereof, in the County Palatine of *Lancaster*"—by which were appointed commissioners (to hear and determine all such matters of debt and detinue as were therein mentioned) to constitute a court of justice, by the name of "The Court of Requests for the Borough and Corporation and Port of Liverpoole and the Liberties thereof."

2. That of the *Poulton district*—established by 10 George III., c. 21, by which commissioners were appointed to constitute a court of justice, for similar purposes, by the style of "The Court of Requests for the parishes of Poulton, Kirkham, Lytham, and Bispham, and townships of Preesall and Stalmine, in the County Palatine of Lancaster."

3. That of *The Townships of Stockport, &c.*—established by 46 George III., c. 114, for similar purposes, under the name of "The Court of Requests for the several townships of Stockport and Brinnington, and the several hamlets of Edgeley and Brinksway, in the County Palatine of Chester."

4. That of *Manchester*—established by 48 George III., c. 43, entitled "An Act for the more easy and speedy Recovery of Small Debts, within the Parish of Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster;" by which were appointed commissioners (for the recovery of small debts, within the parish of Manchester, and the several townships, hamlets, and places situate within the same parish) to act as a court of justice, by the name of "The Court of Requests for the Parish of Manchester, in the County Palatine of Lancaster." (By sec. 14 of this Act the steward of the wapentake or hundred of Salford, and the lord or lady of the manor of Manchester, might appoint two clerks, two sergeants, and other necessary officers; and by sec. 62 are reserved "the rights of the Wapentake Court of Salford, or the court baron, or any other court belonging to the manor of Manchester, or any rights, &c., enjoyed with or belonging to the said wapentake or hundred of Salford and manor of Manchester).

5. That of *Ashton-under-Lyne, &c.*—similarly established by 48 George III., c. 98, under the name of "The Court of Requests for the Parish of Ashton-under-Lyne, in the said County Palatine of Lancaster, and the several Townships of Stayley, Hattersley, Matley, Newton, and Dukinfield, in the County Palatine of Chester."

The foregoing exhaust the list of ancient local courts, of *civil* jurisdiction. Those having *criminal*, or *special*, jurisdiction might form the subject of a second paper—ample materials for which are to be found in my collected notes.

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force the actual improvement at first effected was but slight. Moreover, as each Act has been many times renewed, and advantage has often been taken of the renewal to obtain the sanction of Parliament to some further improvement, it may well be that in some instances the initial change was much slighter than those afterwards effected. Nevertheless the passing of the first Act marks the most important step, the one which constitutes the particular highway a turnpike road, and its date, being fixed and ascertainable, furnishes us at once with a reliable basis for purposes of comparison.

The condition of things which led to the adoption of turnpikes was, as stated by Macaulay in his *History of England*, the state of disrepair into which the roads had fallen and the impossibility of keeping them up under the old system. The principle of local liability to repair, which had been maintained for centuries, broke down when it involved the injustice of compelling a sparsely-populated country parish lying between two prosperous towns to make good the wear occasioned to its highway by the traffic of the latter. The task was in many cases an impossible one, and so the roads became worse and worse, full of deep ruts, and difficult and dangerous to traverse.

Defoe in his *Tour through Great Britain*, first published in 1724, states that many roads in various parts of the country had become impassable, and this, he adds, "necessarily brought the Country to apply to Parliament; and the Consequence has been that Turn-pikes or Toll-bars have been set up on the several great Roads of *England*, beginning at *London* and proceeding through almost all those dirty, deep Roads in the Midland Counties especially, at which Turn-pikes all Carriages, Droves of Cattle, and Travellers on Horseback are oblig'd to pay an easy Toll, which bears no Comparison with the Benefit reap'd thereby: And 'tis well worth recording for the Honour of the present Age that this Work has been

begun and is in an extraordinary Manner carry'd on, and perhaps may in a great Measure be compleated within our Memory as to the worst and most dangerous Roads in the Kingdom. And this is a Work of so much general Good, that certainly no publick Edifice, Alms-house, Hospital, or Nobleman's Palace can be of equal Value to the Country with this, nor at the same time more an Honour and Ornament to it."

Defoe proceeds to point out the incredible effect the turnpikes had already had upon trade, the cost of carriage of goods being abated, notwithstanding that the carriers had to bear the toll. More weight could be brought with the same number of horses, and that with less fatigue; and all kinds of travellers found increased safety and ease.

At the time when Defoe wrote, the movement for turnpikes was taking a firm hold all over the country. Many years had, however, elapsed since the earliest turnpike Act had been passed—that for the great north road through the counties of Hertford, Cambridge, and Huntingdon in 1663, and progress for a long time had been but slow. In the last decade of the seventeenth century the principle made considerable progress in various parts of the country, but as yet none in Lancashire or Cheshire. That the Palatine counties should lag somewhat behind the rest of the kingdom is perhaps not surprising, when we recollect that their relative importance was much less in those times than now. It cannot have been owing to the possession of superior highways, for we find special provision made for these two counties in an Act of Parliament passed in 1670, which states that "in the Counties of *Chester* and *Lancaster* there are many and sundry great and deep Rivers, which run cross and through the common and publick Highways and Roads within the said Counties, which many Times cannot be passed over without Hazard and Loss of the Lives and Goods of the Inhabitants and Travellers within the said Counties for want of con-

venient, good, and sufficient Bridges in the said Highways and Roads." The two counties appear to have been more sparsely provided with trunk roads than the rest of the kingdom. Ogilby's *Britannia*, published in 1675, which contains a careful delineation of all the main roads of England and Wales, shows them to have only a very few of what the author describes as "Direct roads" (*i.e.*, those leading from London). These are one to Chester by way of Whitchurch, another to Chester by way of Nantwich, and a branch of the latter, which, leaving it at Darlaston, near Stone, in Staffordshire, enters Cheshire at Church Lawton, and passes through Warrington, Preston, and Lancaster to Carlisle.* Of cross roads he shows but three: one from Chester through Warrington, Manchester, and Rochdale to York; another from Manchester, through Stockport and Buxton, to Derby; and a third from Lancaster in the direction of Skipton and York. We may note, in passing, how great a change has since taken place in the relative importance of the Dee and the Mersey. Chester appears then as a great centre, while Liverpool is not even mentioned. Scarcely any other roads than the above appear in the maps or almanacs down to the middle of the next century. It is to them, therefore, as the chief highways that we should expect the earliest applications of the turnpike system, and such is in fact the case. First came in 1705, an Act with respect to the road from Barnhill to Hatton Heath, a section of the highway between Whitchurch and Chester. Nineteen years passed before the second step was taken, applying to the road from Buxton and Chapel-en-le-Frith to Manchester, described in the Act as "the nearest road from London to Manchester," though from its wildness

* Also described, in part, in the Itinerary of Dr. Kuerden, *circa* 1695 (Earwaker's *Local Gleanings*, vol. i. 375, &c.).

and loneliness not the most usual one. A reference to the accompanying map (in which the roads turnpiked in this first half of the eighteenth century are distinguished by being coloured red) will show that others of the roads mentioned by Ogilby follow, with some which he did not name. The former include the one from Rochdale, over "a certain craggy Mountain called *Blackstone Edge*," to Halifax and Elland (1734). The latter include the highways from Liverpool to Prescot (1725) and from Manchester, through Ashton-under-Lyne to Saltersbrook (1731) and through Oldham to Austerlands (1734). The selection of termini in these latter cases shows that it was not yet possible to entirely disregard the local principle. Saltersbrook and Austerlands were chosen, not on account of any importance of their own (for they had none), but because they were situated at the county boundary, and stood at the gate of another jurisdiction. A similar tendency is observable in regard to the road through Nantwich to Chester (1743), the trust commencing at the Staffordshire border, and again, in regard to the road to Warrington, a small section only of which—viz., from Lawton to Cranage—was first dealt with (1730). Cranage is a small village, near Holmes Chapel, now seldom heard of, and not even possessing an inn. Formerly, however, and down to the middle of last century, it occupied a position analogous in some respects to that of Crewe at the present day. It was close to the junction or parting of the ways, the spot where travellers who had journeyed together from the metropolis must say good-bye, if they were destined, the one for Manchester, and the other for Liverpool, Warrington, or the north. There commenced the branch road, which, passing through Knutsford and Altrincham, made direct for Manchester. It was this road—the ordinary route to London, though not as we have seen the most direct—which John Byrom traversed on his

frequent journeys to and from the metropolis. On the 6th of April, 1730, he writes to his wife from his halting place at Stone in Staffordshire, "I fancy I shall be at Cranage to-night, and to-morrow I hope for the pleasure of seeing thee again." And in February, 1724, he had written recording his setting out for London at twelve o'clock, and reaching Holmes Chapel before five. The road from Cranage to Warrington is shown by Ogilby as crossing Rudheath, leaving Northwich a little to the left at Grulam (now Lostock Gralam), and passing through Great Budworth and Stretton. This is the route shown in all the old maps, and is the one passed over by Drunken Barnaby in one of the journeys related in his Itinerary. He sojourns at Warrington, and then departs,

> Thence to th' Cock at Budworth, where I
> Drank strong ale as brown as berry,

his next halting place being Holmes Chapel. The section he thus traversed has, however, never been turnpiked, and its existence as part of the great road to the north has so far become forgotten that it is difficult to trace it as a continuous route on the ordnance maps. Ogilby mentions that in his time the post went by Knutsford, the object of the deviation being probably to take in that town. A hesitation as to which route to adopt probably accounts for the turnpiking of the road from Lawton in 1730 being carried no farther north than Cranage. It was not till twenty-two years later that this hesitation was resolved, and the Budworth route finally abandoned in favour of that through Knutsford, to Warrington on the one hand, and Altrincham on the other.

A little earlier than this, viz., in 1750, the road from Crosford Bridge (near Sale) to Manchester, part of the same route to London, had been brought within the system. The preamble to this Act, which resembles that to most

of the others, will give some idea of the grounds upon which the assistance of Parliament was solicited, besides supplying the special features of this particular case, and will illustrate the necessity which existed for some action being taken. It runs as follows:—

"Whereas the Road leading from Crosford Bridge through the Townships of Stretford and Hulme to the Town of Manchester in the County Palatine of Lancaster is a common High Road and Part of the Post Road from London to the said Town of Manchester; and by reason of the Nature of the Soil and the many and heavy Carriages passing through the same, the said Road is become so exceeding deep and ruinous, that in the Winter Season, and frequently in Summer, it is very difficult and dangerous to pass through the greatest Part thereof with Waggons, Carts and other wheel-carriages; and Travellers cannot pass without Danger and Loss of Time. And Whereas some Part of the said Road lying next to Crosford Bridge is many Times overflowed with Water and unpassable; whereby the Post is delayed, and several Persons, in attempting to pass through the same, have lost their lives."

The work of the latter half of the eighteenth century (indicated on the map in blue colour) was much greater than that of the preceding fifty years. The advantages of the system had been sufficiently demonstrated, and were extended rapidly on every hand. Amongst the roads to which it was now applied were those leading out of Manchester to Warrington, Bolton, Wigan, and Duxbury (1752); and by Crumpsall to Bury, Radcliffe, and Rochdale (1754). The inclusion of that from Prescot to Warrington (1752) completed the route between Liverpool and Manchester. Two lengths of road united Skipton and Preston (1754), one by Burnley and Blackburn, the other by Clitheroe. In the East Lancashire district a perfect network of turnpike

roads was speedily established, connecting with each other Rochdale, Todmorden, Burnley, Edenfield, Blackburn, Bolton, Bury, and other towns. Portions of many of these roads were constructed under contract by John Metcalfe, the celebrated "Blind Jack of Knaresborough." In Cheshire also a fair number of roads appear, including those from Chester southward through Whitchurch (1759), eastward to Northwich (1769), and northward to Warrington (1786) and Birkenhead (1787). The cross-country traffic from the further side of the Pennine chain (Sheffield, Chesterfield, and beyond) to Liverpool and Chester was provided for in the roads from Buxton to Broken Cross, Macclesfield (1758), and Broken Cross to Nether Tabley (1769), and in that from Whaley to Macclesfield (1770). As Cheshire lay between Lancashire and the metropolis, many of its roads were doubtless laid out for the benefit of the sister county. Of the old post route to London, already mentioned, the only section remaining unturnpiked was that between Crosford Bridge and Altrincham, and this was included in 1765. Prior to this date, however, efforts had been made to find a shorter and better route. Twelve years previously a meeting of interested parties had been held with a view to open out the road from Bullock Smithy through Macclesfield and Leek to Sandon, in Staffordshire, where the old route was to be rejoined, and after the lapse of some years this object was achieved (1762). But an extension beyond Leek in the direction of Ashbourne was at the same time authorised, and this had the effect of diverting the bulk of the Manchester and London traffic away altogether from the old route, which Byrom had traversed so often, through Lichfield and Coventry, and taking it through Derby and Leicester. The "Flying Machine" between Manchester and London, established a few years previously, and which accomplished the marvellous feat of covering the entire

distance in three days, was advertised to travel by Buxton, Ashbourne, and Derby, the last named town being reached at the end of the first day. When the turnpiking just mentioned was effected, Buxton gave way to Macclesfield and Leek, which henceforth maintained their places as stations on the chief road to the metropolis. Another and very pleasant route southwards, rather to Birmingham and Oxford than to London, was obtained when the Wilmslow road, originally made only from Didsbury (1752), was extended through Congleton to Church Lawton (1781), and northwards from Didsbury through Rusholme and along what is still known as Rusholme Road to Ardwick Green (1793).

The activity of this latter half of the eighteenth century was moreover not confined to the bringing of new roads within the turnpike system. Many alterations were made in those previously included, which practically effected greater improvements than the original one. These were in many places widened, straightened, or diverted. Here a bend was cut off, and there a steep gradient was eased. Each change may not have been very great in itself, but in the aggregate a very sensible improvement was effected. The observant wayfarer will not infrequently notice the older and abandoned piece of road diverging from the more modern one, and, especially in the hilly districts, will be able to appreciate the improvements in width or in gradient.

Nor was this improvement applied to the turnpike roads only. The other highways still remained under the old law, by which each parish was bound to repair its own, and this liability was enforceable by the old remedy of indicting the inhabitants at quarter sessions. The remedy seems to have been freely resorted to in the last decades of the century.

Indited roads, and rates that still increase,

stand foremost among the topics which, according to the poet Crabbe,* came up for discussion in country tavern-haunts—

Where rector, doctor, and attorney pause;
First on each parish, then each public cause.

And the records of the Lancashire justices show that numerous "convictions" were obtained in that county at this period, the inhabitants in each case being fined a fixed sum, which was raised by rates, paid to the prosecutor, and by him applied in the repair of the highway. This course was adopted wherever the amount of through traffic or other circumstances were not such as to justify the taking of tolls, and by its means the necessity of applying for a turnpike act was in many cases dispensed with. The roads thus dealt with in Lancashire include amongst others those from Preston to Kirkham, Chorley to Ormskirk, Wigan to Golborne, and Haslingden to Burnley, or rather sections of them. As each parish had to be dealt with by a separate indictment, it was impossible to deal with the whole road at once, and where, as in some cases, a particular parish contained a few yards only, the cost became altogether disproportionate.

The advent of the nineteenth century brings us to the last of the periods we marked out at the beginning—the one in which the system reaches its maturity and commences its decline. In this period, or that part of it which belongs to the pre-railway era, still greater activity was shown in the widening and straightening of the existing turnpike roads, and in the further improvement with which the name of Macadam is associated. Wide, straight, and gently-sloping roads having been obtained, it only remained to produce that smoothness of surface which enabled the mail coaches to travel at the rate of eleven miles an hour; and when this

* *The Newspaper* (published 1785).

had been produced, the limits to which roads were capable of being developed had perhaps been reached.

The roads newly turnpiked during this period (coloured brown on the map) consist more especially of short sections, filling up the gaps previously left, or providing shorter and better routes in substitution for the older ones. They are, however, not unimportant. To take first those radiating from Manchester, we have the new roads to Eccles (1806), Bury (1827), Middleton (1804), Ashton (1825), and Hyde and Mottram (1818), the last named being continued beyond Glossop by a new road over the moors to Sheffield (1818). The route to London is further improved by the construction of the Wellington Road through Stockport, with its connections from Heaton Chapel to Rowcroft Smithy (1824). Stockport also improves its highways to Marple (1801) and Warrington (1821), and considerable additions are made between Oldham and Rochdale, and in the neighbourhood of Bolton, Bury, Haslingden, and Blackburn. A field for the display of considerable engineering skill is found in the construction of a new road between Macclesfield and Buxton (1821), mounting from each end by an easy and gradual ascent to the elevated hostelry known as the "Cat and Fiddle." While these and other improvements are being carried out, Liverpool, dissatisfied with its detour by Warrington, is agitating for a bridge to be thrown across the Mersey at Runcorn Gap, so as to shorten its communications with the south. The mail between London and Liverpool then pursued a rather indirect course by Congleton, Chelford, and Warrington. The importance of accelerating it induced the Government to consider the desirability of placing the entire route, like that to Holyhead, under national control, and in 1827 the commissioners of the latter road were directed by Parliament to make a survey and report as to the variations of route it was advisable to adopt. Under

the instructions of the commissioners, Telford went over the various existing roads, and reported in favour of a new one to Warrington, either from Cranage or from Lawton, through Middlewich and Northwich. If the railway era had not been close at hand, one of these schemes would doubtless have been carried out. As it was, attention was diverted to other projects, and Telford's plans were superseded by those of Stephenson. Not all at once, however, did the impetus given to road improvement succumb before the competition of the rail. New roads were authorised so late as 1838 in connection with the Lower King's Ferry over the Dee, an important part of the route from Liverpool to Holyhead. Other highways in the Wirral peninsula (which had certainly been neglected down to that time) were turnpiked in 1826 and 1841, and various short roads in different parts of the two counties have since been included. But the death-knell of the turnpike system had been sounded when the railway whistle was first heard. Not only have few roads of any importance since been turnpiked, but those already included in the system find a great part of their occupation gone. Reduced from the position of great national communications to that of mere local connections, the ground on which toll was justly collected exists no longer. As they are now mostly used by the residents in the locality, it has become just that the ancient principle should be reverted to, and their care and maintenance thrown back upon the inhabitants of the district. And so the different trusts have, one by one, been allowed to expire, until at the present time only a very few of these once numerous bodies remain. These few will in the ordinary course come to an end within the next three or four years, and then the turnpike system, having completed its work, will become a thing of the past, fit and ripe for removal from the ranks of existing institutions, and for occupying its final resting-place in the storehouse of history.

In conclusion, attention may be directed for a moment to the indications which the accompanying map gives of the growth of the commerce of the two counties. In the density or sparseness of the lines of turnpike road in any particular district we may trace in some degree the extent of the commerce of the district in pre-railway days. That they are sparse to the north of Clitheroe and east of Lancaster, and again in the Fylde district, is not surprising when we recollect that these districts contain barren fells or are devoted largely to agriculture. And that they are so dense in the neighbourhood of Manchester and throughout East Lancashire generally, we know corresponds with the fact of this latter district being a huge hive of manufacturing industry. It is but a truism to say that without adequate communications commerce cannot thrive. A glance at the map will show that the districts where commerce has thriven most are those which have been best supplied with turnpike roads, and this fact alone bears sufficient testimony, if any were needed, to the advantages which the latter have in their time conferred upon the community.

PERIODS AND DEDICATIONS OF THE ANCIENT CHURCHES IN LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

BY S. E. HAWORTH.

THE proposed area of Lancashire and Cheshire embraces three dioceses, viz., Chester, Manchester, and Liverpool. Formerly nearly the whole area was included in the diocese of Lichfield, afterwards in the diocese of Chester. In 1847 the diocese of Manchester was constituted, and in 1880 the diocese of Liverpool was constituted. As to date I have drawn the line at the close of the seventeenth century, so that all the churches referred to were built prior to A.D. 1700. While primarily dealing with the dedications, it will be appropriate to give the numbers of such ancient churches and analyse the periods of church building in these palatine counties. There are a few churches, such as Whalley, Winwick, Preston, Bunbury, Budworth, and St. John's, Chester, where we have distinct historical evidence that the church was founded in the seventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth centuries; but of course the principal remains of those periods is at best to be found only in portions of the foundations. From the eleventh century downwards we are on clear, well-determined lines. The figures I am now about

to present include the parish churches, chapels of ease, which in many cases, as, *e.g.*, Nantwich, grew into parish churches; the domestic chapel, as, *e.g.*, Tabley; and the donatives, as, *e.g.*, Ellenbrook. Chester is placed first as being the oldest diocese.

ANALYSIS OF CHURCH BUILDING—DIOCESAN.

Centuries:	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th
Chester.....	2	2	2	6	15	16	33	21	15	19	10
Manchester.	2	2	2	3	14	19	22	6	7	35	9
Liverpool...	–	–	–	3	1	3	5	6	5	3	1

Total 289 churches.

ANALYSIS OF CHURCH BUILDING—COUNTIES.

Centuries:	7th	8th	9th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th	17th
Chester.....	2	2	2	6	15	16	33	21	15	19	10
Lancaster...	2	2	2	6	15	22	27	12	12	38	10

Total 289 churches.

ARCHITECTURAL ANALYSIS.

Saxon period - - - - - - - - -	24
Norman period - - - - - - - - -	49
Early English period - - - - - - -	69
Decorated period - - - - - - - -	33
Perpendicular period - - - - - - -	74
Later period - - - - - - - - -	40
	289

Before dealing with the dedications of these churches, it will be well to remind you (1) there are many churches where the original dedication is lost, quite unknown. This may arise from loss of documents, loss of interest, or the destroying influences of the Cromwellian period. (2) In many cases the ancient chapels of ease did not receive any dedication lest they drew away prestige from the parish church. Many of them have grown into parish churches as the popu-

lation has increased. (3) The dedication of some ancient churches is in dispute, as Prestwich St. Mary *v.* St. Bartholomew, Alderley St. Mary *v.* St. Luke. (4) Some of the churches have more than one dedication, as, *e.g.*, St. Mary and St. Werberg—Warburton, and the Manchester Cathedral, dedicated to the B. V. Mary, St. George and St. Denys. (5) Some ancient dedications are ambiguous, *e.g.*, St. John, where in several cases we have nothing to guide us as to whether St. John Evangelist or St. John Baptist is referred to. The precise dedications to the Virgin Mary are in many instances lost. (6) Some ancient dedications run in zones or groups in neighbourhoods. As an example, St. Leonard is honoured in Lancashire at Walton-le-dale, Balderstone, Padiham, Langho, Samlesbury, Downham, and Middleton. St. Oswald once in Lancashire, five times in Cheshire. St. Lawrence is not found in Cheshire, but four times in Lancashire. (7) Some of the ancient dedications follow the coast line, as St. Nicholas and St. Cuthbert. (8) Outside Scripture saints there was in old days a strong desire to dedicate the church to the founder. St. Chad, St. Wilfrid, and others in this way have been much honoured.

I will now deal with the dedications of the ancient churches of Lancashire and Cheshire in classified order.

I. Dedications referring to God:

SACRED TRINITY.—*Lancashire:* Salford - - - - - - - - 1
HOLY TRINITY.—*Lancashire:* Warton, Littleborough, Shaw. *Cheshire:* Chester - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4
ST. SAVIOUR.—*Lancashire:* Ringley, Stidd - - - - - - - 2
CHRIST CHURCH.—*Lancashire:* Ainsworth, Douglas, Walmsley - - 3

II. Dedications referring to the Apostles:

ST. JOHN.—*Lancashire:* Preston, Silverdale, Ellel. *Cheshire:* Chelford - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4
ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—*Lancashire:* Chipping, Colne, Radcliffe, Harwood, Coppull, Westhoughton, Whitworth. *Cheshire:* Wilmslow, Thurstaston, Church Minshull - - - - - - - - - - - 10

ST. PETER.—*Lancashire:* Heysham, Melling, Bolton, Blackley, Liverpool, Maghull. *Cheshire:* Chester, Prestbury, Plemstall, Congleton, Witton - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 11

ST. ANDREW.—*Lancashire:* Leyland. *Cheshire:* Bebbington, Tarvin, Denwall - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4

ST. JAMES.—*Lancashire:* Altham, Lytham, Church, Didsbury, Haslingden, Stalmine, Milnrow, Accrington, Ashworth, Birch, Gorton. *Cheshire:* Christleton, Taxal, Gawsworth, Ince - - - - - 15

ST. THOMAS.—*Lancashire:* Garstang, Overton - - - - - - 2

ST. MATTHEW.—*Lancashire:* Stretford - - - - - - - - 1

III. Scripture dedications:

ST. MICHAEL.—*Lancashire:* St. Michael-on-Wyre, Croston, Kirkham, Cockerham, Ashton-under-Lyne, Hoole, Huyton, Aughton, Garston, Burscough, Altcar. *Cheshire:* Chester, Mottram, Macclesfield, Coppenhall, Shotwick, Baddeley, Bidston - - - - - - - 18

ST. MARY.—*Lancashire:* Whalley, Blackburn, Lancaster, Eccles, Penwortham, Eccleston, Manchester, Leigh, Marsden, Prestwich, Rufford, Oldham, Goosnargh, Hambleton, Newchurch in Pendle, Deane, Todmorden, Ellenbrook, Walton-on-Hill, Prescot. *Cheshire:* Bowdon, Lymm, Acton, Aldford, Eccleston, Weaverham, Astbury, Sandbach, Stoke, Rostherne, Stockport, Bruera, Doddeston, Chester, Cheadle, Tilston, Coddington, Ashton, Bosley, Eastham, Halton, Wistaston, Alderley, Whitchurch, Nantwich, Disley, Budworth, Poynton - - 48

ST. MARY MAGDALENE.—*Lancashire:* Clitheroe - - - - - - 1

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—*Lancashire:* Tunstal, Pilling. *Cheshire:* Chester, Pott Shrigley - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4

ST. PAUL.—*Lancashire:* Eaton, Shireshead. *Cheshire:* Marton - - 3

ST. CLEMENT.—*Lancashire:* Chorlton-cum-Hardy - - - - - - 1

ST. LUKE.—*Lancashire:* Heywood. *Cheshire:* Holmes Chapel - - 2

ST. STEPHEN.—*Lancashire:* Tockholes, Astley. *Cheshire:* Alvanley - 3

ST. BARNABAS.—*Cheshire:* Bromborough - - - - - - - 1

ST. MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS.—*Cheshire:* Middlewich - - - - 1

ST. MARY AND ST. JAMES.—*Cheshire:* Birkenhead - - - - - 1

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—*Lancashire:* Ormskirk - - - - - 1

IV. Mixed dedications:

ST. MARY AND ALL SAINTS.—*Lancashire:* Goodshaw - - - - - 1

ST. MARY AND ST. HELEN.—*Cheshire:* Neston - - - - - - 1

ST. MARY AND ST. WERBERG.—*Cheshire:* Warburton - - - - - 1

V. General dedications:

ALL SAINTS.—*Lancashire:* Newton Heath, Childwall, Wigan, Hindley. *Cheshire:* Budworth, Lawton, Runcorn, Harthill, Handley, Daresbury, Thelwall, Saughall - - - - - - - - - - - 12

ALL HALLOWS.—*Lancashire:* Bispham - - - - - - - - 1
HOLY CROSS.—*Cheshire:* Woodchurch - - - - - - - - 1

VI. Historical dedications:

ST. CHAD.—*Lancashire:* Poulton-le-Fylde, Claughton, Rochdale, Longton, Saddleworth. *Cheshire:* Wymonbury, Over, Chadkirk, Farndon - 9
ST. WILFRID.—*Lancashire:* Halton, Ribchester, Standish, Farnworth, Formby. *Cheshire:* Davenham, Northenden, Grappenhall, Mobberley - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 9
ST. LEONARD.—*Lancashire:* Walton-le-Dale, Langho, Samlesbury, Downham, Middleton, Padiham, Balderstone. *Cheshire:* Warmingham, Wrenbury - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 9
ST. CATHARINE.—*Lancashire:* Blackrod - - - - - - - - 1
ST. HELEN.—*Lancashire:* Garstang, Sephton. *Cheshire:* Tarporley - 3
ST. NICHOLAS.—*Lancashire:* Newchurch in Rossendale. *Cheshire:* Thornton, Frodsham, Barton, Barrow - - - - - - - - 5
ST. CUTHBERT.—*Lancashire:* Lytham, Over Kellett, Halsall, North Meols - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 4
ST. DENYS.—*Lancashire:* Manchester - - - - - - - - 1
ST. GEORGE.—*Lancashire:* Manchester. *Cheshire:* Pulford - - - 2
ST. ANNE.—*Lancashire:* Singleton, Turton, Woodplumpton - - - 3
ST. LAWRENCE.—*Lancashire:* Chorley, Barton, Denton, Longridge - 4
ST. EADMOR.—*Lancashire:* Admarsh - - - - - - - - 1
ST. MARGARET.—*Lancashire:* Hornby - - - - - - - - 1
ST. MAXENTIUS.—*Lancashire:* Bradshaw - - - - - - - - 1
ST. OSWALD.—*Lancashire:* Winwick. *Cheshire:* Malpas, Buckford, Brereton, Peover - - - - - - - - - - - - 5
ST. THOMAS MARTYR.—*Lancashire:* Upholland - - - - - - 1
ST. ELPHIN.—*Lancashire:* Warrington - - - - - - - - 1
ST. WERBERG.—*Cheshire:* Chester - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. BRIDGET.—*Cheshire:* West Kirkby, Chester - - - - - - 2
ST. BONIFACE.—*Cheshire:* Bunbury - - - - - - - - 1
ST. MARTIN.—*Cheshire:* Chester - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. PATRICK.—*Cheshire:* Haslewall - - - - - - - - 1
ST. ALBAN.—*Cheshire:* Tattenhall - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. OLAVE.—*Cheshire:* Chester - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. BERTOLINE.—*Cheshire:* Barthomley - - - - - - - - 1
ST. HILDEBURG.—*Cheshire:* Hilbra - - - - - - - - 1
ST. EDITH.—*Cheshire:* Shocklach - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. GILES.—*Cheshire:* Boughton - - - - - - - - - 1
ST. HILARY.—*Lancashire:* Wallassey - - - - - - - - 1

The two hundred and eighty-nine ancient churches represent a variety of fifty-eight different known dedications, and forty-eight of the churches are dedicated in honour of the Virgin Mary.

Beyond the original intention, the practice of church dedication has pleasantly conserved many historical associations. The hagiographer revels in the ecclesiastical records which dedications have handed down to us. To the antiquary they open out an avenue for research, and it must be useful as well as interesting from time to time to turn up the mould of such rich quaint memories.

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ASTOR, LENOX AND
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CHORLEY HALL,

AND OTHER BUILDINGS IN ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD.

BY WILLIAM NORBURY.

I PROPOSE to notice a few things that lie upon the surface of the subject, and which, on that account, may, and often indeed do, escape the notice of those who mine deeper; or who, to vary the figure, fish with a longer line in deeper waters.

> . . . . Such thing as I can
> With hearty will, for I will not rebel
> Against your lust, a tale will I tell.
> Have me excused if I should speak amiss;
> My will is good; and lo, my tale is this.

Chorley, or Chorlegh, is one of the six hamlets or townships comprising Wilmslow parish—Styall, Morley, Fulshaw, Chorley, Hough, and Deanrow; or, to take the more recent division into four townships, it is one of the four of Bollin Fee, Pownall Fee, Fulshaw, and Chorley. What is now erroneously called Alderley and Alderley Edge is almost all of it in Chorley and in the Hough, which latter place is the southern part of Bollin Fee. St. Philip's, Chorley, is the designation of the church; and what is now called Alderley village—the road between the railway station and the Trafford Arms—was, fifty years back and later, known as Street-lane-ends, Chorley. For the ancient history of Chorley, and especially of Chorley Hall, I must refer you to

those books which are authorities, as Ormerod's *Cheshire*, Earwaker's *East Cheshire*, and others. For the purposes of my paper I shall follow Mr. Earwaker's valuable history, basing my remarks upon it; and I must assume that the reader is generally acquainted with what he gives us therein as the history of Chorley.

But I must here put in a caution, and premise that the chapter headed "Chorley Township" gives us the history of Chorley Hall estate rather than the history of Chorley township. Chorley Hall estate and Chorley township are two very different things; for while Chorley Hall estate has suffered the mutations given in the chapter referred to, Chorley township—Chorley as a part of the manor of Bolyn—has had none of the vicissitudes of the former place, but is to-day what it was six hundred years back, and what it has been all along, the property of the lord of Bolyn, and a part of his manor. The arms of the present lord of Bolyn, Sir Humphrey de Trafford, swing at the hostelry, in the centre of the place, as they have done for hundreds of years, indeed since the de Traffords became lords of Bolyn, or since there was an inn there. Now all this is quite consistent with the facts, properly arranged, given in Mr. Earwaker's history. I state this at the onset because it is so very natural to mistake Chorley Hall for the manorial hall of the township—an error into which almost all persons fall when first approaching the study of the history of Chorley.

I want now, in the first place, to notice a few points about Chorley Hall estate. I shall not begin with Adam; but if I had a genealogical question in hand I should feel bound to do so, for I like thoroughness in everything; but I shall start at the time this estate was marked off as a distinct and separate part of the township of Chorley, or of the manor of Bolyn.

Mr. Earwaker fortunately, with his usual munificence, gives us a copy of the ancient document by which this was done. Edmund Phiton (or Fitton), lord of Bolyn, in the year 1280 granted "all the land, with its appurtenances, which John de Davenport held of him in the vill of Chorley, to Robert de Downes, who had married Margaret Fitton, his sister." This old Fitton, lord of Bollin, most likely resided at Bollin Hall, Wilmslow, an old manorial hall which stood just at the southern end of the Wilmslow viaduct and which the railway demolished. I remember the old place. It was something like Chorley Hall, an old framed building. The old lord seems to have been a kindly man; for when his sister married Robert of Downes, who like enough had no estate, the lord of Bolyn generously provided the newly-wedded pair with a moderate maintenance, giving his sister a slice of his manor lying in Chorley; not the whole of Chorley, or the manorial rights of Chorley, but a suitable slice; what was a decent provision for making the family pot to boil. Now at this time the manor of Bolyn—Wilmslow parish—was all one undivided manor (excepting perhaps Fulshaw, with which we are not now concerned), and it was so up to 1421, when the male line of the lords of Bolyn failed, and the manor was divided between two sisters of the late lord, one of whom had married Edmund de Trafford, and the other Robert del Booth. The latter (Booth) was the ancestor of the present Earl of Stamford, and he took the northern and eastern side of the manor, while Trafford had the southern and western portion, Chorley being within and a part of this latter moiety. "Now thus" is Sir Humphrey de Trafford to-day the lord of Bolyn, and of Chorley as a part of that lordship. As a matter of fact, the greater part by far of it now belongs to him; and as to manorial rights, the court-leet of Bolyn has always, from the first, exercised jurisdiction over Chorley, and by far the

lion's share of the waste lands on the common of Great Lindow, abutting on Chorley, is in the hands of the present lord of Bolyn (de Trafford). He is the landlord of most of it; his arms grace the village inn; to his court suit and service are rendered; he nominates its churchwardens; he is its lord. "Gripe, griffin; hold fast." So that, although in Chorley Hall we have a grand specimen of ancient English domestic architecture, and a respectable estate with a peer of the realm for its present owner, we have not a manorial hall, not a lordship, not a township estate. In Mr. Earwaker's book, under the heading "William Davenport," is given in parenthesis a quotation from a Cheshire MS. pedigree, as follows: "He sould the manor of Chorley, and hath now seated himself at Hawne [Hollon]." He never had the manor of Chorley to sell. He sold some of his estates in Chorley—his Chorley Hall estate, and this misled the old genealogist, as it has done others since his time.

In the above-mentioned deed, as quoted by Mr. Earwaker, these words are used in describing what was granted: "All the land and appurtenances which John de Davenport held of me in the vill of Chorley." These words should be borne in mind while I refer to another fact. Mr. Earwaker says, when dealing with the age of Chorley Hall: "These features would point to the early part of the fifteenth century, *temp.* Henry V. and VI., as the probable date of the erection of this the oldest portion of this building." If he be correct in this surmise—and I do not question his judgment—at the time of this grant by the lord of Bolyn to his sister there was not, at any rate, the present Chorley Hall upon the estate; most probably there was no house at all. These lands and the appurtenances thereto had hitherto been held under the lord of Bolyn, as we are told, by John de Davenport. Who was he? Whence came he? Where is this Davenport from whence he came?

In 1486, the owner of Chorley Hall, as we further learn from Mr. Earwaker, Robert Hondforth, junior, had an only daughter and heiress named Ann, who immediately before 1495 was married to John Stanley, Esq. This he shows by a charter given; and, by the way, this is the first time the Stanleys get Chorley Hall estate. It soon, however passed from them, for we find that this John Stanley died without issue, and that his widow married Thomas Davenport, son of Ralph Davenport, of Davenport, for a second husband. Now we have seen that in 1280 there was a John of Davenport, who held the land which was afterwards the Chorley Hall estate, under the lord of Bolyn; and that again, about the year 1495, there was a son of Ralph of Davenport. Now the place Davenport, the most ancient seat of the Davenport family, is in the parish of Astbury, about twelve miles distant, and *prima facie* this is the Davenport meant; but there is also a Davenport Hall in Chorley, the lands of which adjoin the Chorley Hall lands, near Orrell's Well. May not a branch of the ancient Davenport family have settled here in very early times? and may this not be a reason why John de Davenport held these Chorley Hall lands in 1280—held them from the lord of Bolyn because they adjoined his estate in Chorley?

This Davenport Hall in Chorley is at this time a large, well-built, substantial brick building of about two hundred years old, or perhaps a little more. I take it that this substantial and comparatively ancient house has replaced a still more ancient mansion. When I first knew it, fifty years ago, its general appearance was much as it is now; but there were evident marks that it had in the past been a place of distinction—from some very old and very fine trees about it, ornamental and otherwise. I have not yet had an opportunity of examining this place for the evidences of a former house; but I mean to do this ere long.

This old Davenport Hall stands near the Row of Trees, and almost adjoining Smallwood House, which has found a place in Mr. Earwaker's history, while Davenport Hall has not.

Before leaving this part of my paper, I may say that near Davenport Hall is Davenport Green; some of which is in Fulshaw and some in Morley. And here I want to guard some who may read histories of this locality and who may not have been born and bred on the Common of Lindow, as I was, not to be misled when they find common-rights described in general terms as to quantity and locality—as, for instance, as being a thousand acres of this and a thousand acres of that, and of the other; and as being in Fulshaw, Chorley, and Warford, &c. Such general terms only mean that these rights were undefined as to quantity, and that they existed in the common moss of Great Lindow, which abutted the several townships mentioned, the dividing boundaries not being then in existence, any more than lines on the sea. It was only in much later times that the township boundaries were fixed. We find from the Finney MS. (no great authority by the way, for he makes Lindow Common no larger in his day than it is now, although enclosures have been continually made upon it for a hundred years and more. He was about one-half wrong in the size of the common; and in other respects his MS. should be received with great caution and be corroborated before trusted)—we find that the Fulshaw boundaries were not fixed until the workhouse estate was enclosed, about a hundred years back. It is likely that the boundaries of Mobberley and Warford were fixed about the same time, or even a little later, while the boundary between Chorley and Morley, both being within the manor of Bolyn, has been uncertain until recent times. The tax-gatherer, as he comes along (and he comes more certainly than death), is generally the man to settle

these points. So that it is not strange to find a Davenport Green in Fulshaw and Morley. Besides, it is likely that still another branch of these Davenports were settled in Fulshaw, near Davenport Green, at a very old house only lately demolished, and some years back belonging to John Burgess, who sold it. Mr. Earwaker thinks these Davenports of the last century, of Chorley and Fulshaw, were of totally different family from those of Chorley Hall. I strongly incline to the opinion that they were sub-branches of the same family, and this is not at all rendered improbable by some of them being tradesmen. Younger sons of landed proprietors must do something. Primogeniture only keeps up the main branches; the others gravitate to the common walks of life.

This Davenport Hall belongs to the Leycesters, of Toft, who seem to have become possessed of it by intermarriage with the Davenports; but if these Davenports were not of the old stock, how did this come about? A Ralph Davenport, of Chorley, was buried at Wilmslow, April 1st, 1732, doubtless from this Davenport Hall. If this family was an altogether different family from the former Davenports of Chorley Hall, it is a very strange coincidence.

I may say that I know of none left of this family of Davenport in this neighbourhood. Mrs. Catherine Hall, of Wilmslow, is said to have been the last of the stock, and she died in 1818, leaving, I believe, no issue; she certainly was not, could not by any natural possibility have been, the mother of Thomas Hall, the benefactor to the poor of Bollin Fee, a somewhat natural and easy error into which our historian has fallen.

Davenport Hall, in Chorley, is a fact of to-day to be accounted for either (1) by allowing that it belonged to the old times before Chorley Hall was built, and that a branch of the older family of Davenports, in Astbury, lived at it all

along; or (2) by supposing that some of the old stock, when the leading man went to Hollon, in Salop, settled here and built the place for a home for a declining family; or (3) by supposing, as Mr. Earwaker seems to have done, that it is altogether a modern place of no account, belonging to a mere mushroom family who happened, by a strange coincidence, to bear the Davenport name.

Another place of importance to the antiquary in this locality, and one unfortunately overlooked in our history, is the old Baptist Chapel in Warford, about a mile and a half distant from Chorley Hall, and in its history remotely connected therewith. It is one of the oldest nonconformist places of worship in England. From a document which I have in my possession, written by a late minister of this old place of worship, and compiled from the old church books there, we learn that this congregation originated with a portion of the Parliamentary army, under Sir George Booth, for the time at least of Chorley Hall. The officers preached and gathered a small church, which remained after the army had left, and even until now. After the Restoration and for some years subsequent they had no building in which to worship, these luxuries not being allowed by the law, nor had they even liberty to worship in the open air. Their practice was to meet near the junction of four townships, and when the constables of one township came upon them they hopped into another; so that, unless the four sets of beadles came upon them all at once, they were tolerably safe. The first place in which they established regular worship was at Norbury Houses, in Warford, and here they buried their dead in the orchard. This old graveyard still remains. It has been supposed to have belonged to the Quakers, but this is a manifest error, as that people had all along a sufficient graveyard in Mobberley, the adjoining township. These old Baptists had also a burial ground at Mottram St.

Andrew, and this also remains to our times. This old Warford chapel was at first a timbered structure; the back wall is yet a framed wall, but in the other parts it has been underwalled at various times, so that it presents a somewhat modern appearance. One end of it has been converted into a cottage, and is sometimes occupied by the minister. It is now, as a place of worship, very small; but the interior is very quaint and interesting. Near to it, and indeed belonging to it, there stood a few years ago a gem of an old magpie cottage, but this has unfortunately been improved off the face of the earth. I may say that I think it probable that this old building is of an earlier date than the Baptist church of Warford; if so, it was a previous building converted by the Baptists into a meeting house.

The Ryleys, or Ryley as it is more commonly called, an estate adjoining Chorley Hall, is the ancient home of a family of Ryley, of whom we know little. This place claims a passing notice, chiefly for the purpose of introducing the name of an important person connected therewith, which has hitherto escaped recognition—I refer to the builder of the present mansion-house in the early part of this century, Peter Taylor, Esq.

Peter Taylor was one of our early Manchester cotton merchants. He was of an old family of freeholders or yeomen, in Morley, who owned an estate there. He was bred to agricultural pursuits; but these he left in early life for the Manchester trade, in which he amassed a fortune, and bought the Ryleys, and built the present mansion, long before Alderley Edge and Chorley was a place of suburban residences to Manchester. Alfred Lowe, the late owner of Ryleys, who has found a place in our history, was son of a sister of Peter Taylor, and he was brought up with his uncle, and was eventually his successor at Ryleys. Peter Taylor had many relations, one of whom, a nephew, bore his name,

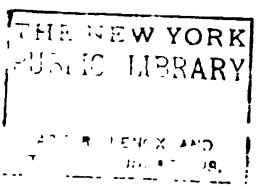
and who, I believe, was his heir-at-law; but these only came in for a moderate share of his large fortune, the bulk of it going to Alfred Lowe, Esq., before mentioned, whom he made his heir and successor in business and at the Ryleys. I believe the estate was bought from the Walkdens, a family incidentally mentioned at Flixton. The Walkdens of Ryleys, of Hayhead, and of Flixton are all of one stock.

Those who know the road from Wilmslow to Alderley may have noticed on the west side, near White Hall, two old hedges near together, with the intervening space covered with brambles and brushwood. This is a part of the old highway, which most likely passed near Chorley Hall, and proceeded southward by what is now called Blackshaw's Farm, or rather Blackshaw's i'th' Fields. I may say here that the turnpike road through Alderley and Chorley—the Wilmslow and Lawton turnpike road—was cut a little over a hundred years back by the notable blind road-contractor, John Metcalf, of Knaresborough, and this new road "disestablished" the old one. Blackshaw's i'th' Fields adjoins Chorley Hall estate, but it belongs, as most of Chorley does, to the present Lord of Bolyn, Sir Humphrey de Trafford. This place is the nidus of the Bower family, of Wilmslow. The Bowers of Mottram and Fulshaw are another branch of the same stock. A Ralph Bower (originally pronounced Bo-er—that is, a maker of bows, as Fletcher is a maker of arrows) in the last century lived here, and had a family of many sons and daughters. He was a yeoman or farmer; he cultivated his own land, which was held on a lease for lives under the lord of Bolyn, de Trafford. In addition to his agricultural pursuits, and possibly to employ his large family and being of a progressive turn of mind, he introduced at this old place the spinning of cotton, which was then as a new industry, superseding Jersey-spinning. At this time both these industries, the old and the new, were carried on

at the homes of the people. Soon after this improved machinery and power were introduced into this work, by the inventions of Arkwright and others, and in the days when Arkwright and Peel were laying the foundations of their colossal fortunes, this Ralph Bower, catching the spirit of the times, migrated from this old farm behind Chorley Hall to Wilmslow, where there was a river for water-power (steam-power was not used as yet), and here he erected what was then called the new building, a little water-power cotton mill at the foot of Hawthorn Carrs. This place is now known as the silk mill. It was for many years worked as a silk mill by the late Mr. Charles Barber. It has been stated that he built it. This is an error. It was built by Mr. Bower before Mr. Barber was born. Other mills followed, and he eventually introduced steam into a mill, which stood almost in the street, near Wilmslow town pump. His many sons grew up, and each in his turn became a spinner or manufacturer, and soon Wilmslow became noted for its cotton shops. Some of these firms even issued money and notes. Indeed, Wilmslow at this time was far in advance of many places that are now important towns, so far as the cotton trade was concerned. For some reason in after years this trade declined in Wilmslow, and eventually left it altogether. Ralph Bower, of Chorley and Wilmslow, seems to have done well; for about the beginning of this century he bought the Hawthorn estate, an historic place near Wilmslow. It was then very much larger in extent than now. It included a large slice of what is now Pownall, and extended to the Bollin in a northerly direction, while it came up to Parsonage Green on the easterly side. When this Ralph Bower died, or rather some time after his death, in effecting a division of his estate by arbitration, the Hawthorn was cut into sections by making Hawthorn Lane and Kennerleys Lane, and to William, a son of the said Ralph Bower,

fell that portion of the Hawthorn estate now called The Grove. Soon after this the Grove house was built for an inn and posting-house, and this it was for many years. William Bower, like his father, was, in a small way, a cotton manufacturer in Wilmslow, and he had a mill on Mill Brow, behind where Isaac Sumner lives, in Church Street. This mill was pulled down when Pownall Hall was rebuilt, about the year 1836. This William Bower, was the father of George Bower, an attorney-at-law, to whose memory there is a stained-glass window in Wilmslow Church, and also of the late Misses Isabella and Ann Bower, of the Grove. Hawthorn Hall fell to Ralph Bower, of Wilmslow, a son of Ralph Bower, of Chorley, and from him it descended to his daughter, Eliza Bower, who had only a life interest. Mr. Ralph Bower, of Wilmslow, a great-grandson of Ralph Bower, of Chorley, is the present heir. I have been somewhat more lengthy on the Bower family than I ought to have been. My excuse is, that Ralph Bower, of Chorley, was very intimately connected with the history of Wilmslow at an important epoch—say about a hundred years back. He was a contemporary of the first Mr. Greg, of Styall, who has found a prominent place in our history, and for noticing this Ralph Bower at some length it may be further urged on my behalf that he was a born Chorley-man, a native of Wilmslow parish. Gorst House, an antiquated mansion on the Knutsford Road, in Chorley, formerly belonged as an appanage to the Hawthorn estate. It was inherited by and now belongs to William Gouldthorpe, Esq., barrister-at-law, a great-grandson of Ralph Bower, of Chorley.

We have a few other old places in Chorley which I shall mention, and only mention, as they may suggest connections in the minds of some. We have Orrell's Well, Grange House, Lingard's, Lydyate, &c. With this I must leave Chorley and its history.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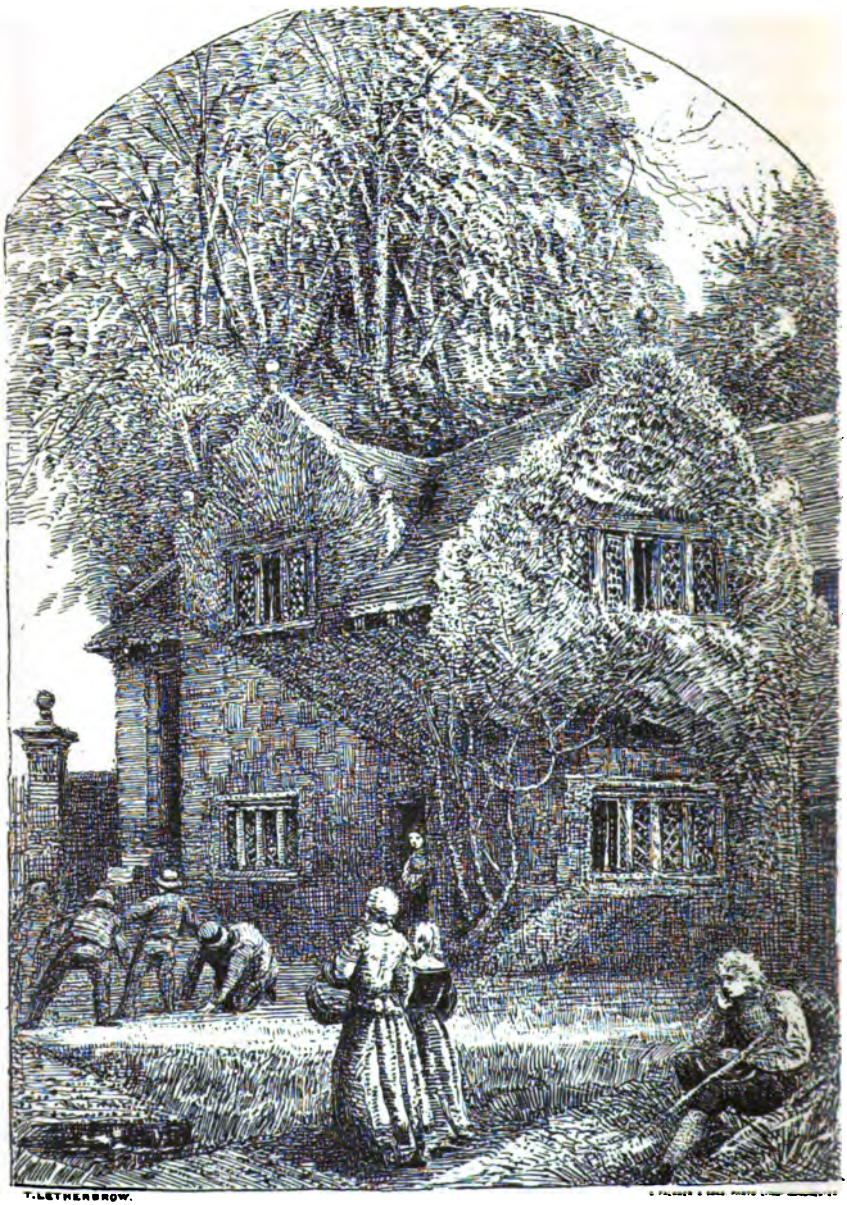

The School House Alderley.

Alderley Church is before your eyes, and its history is in the books; and, furthermore, were I to attempt to do anything with ecclesiastical antiquities it would simply be an absurd impertinence and a folly which I shall avoid. The escutcheons and monuments are to be seen. The chief ones relate to the Stanley family. A short reference, however, to the good Bishop Stanley, of Norwich, may be allowed. In the rectory adjoining the churchyard for long years dwelt Edward Stanley (brother to the first Lord Stanley), rector of Alderley, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. In this quiet spot, and in his rural walks and rides along the hursts and shaws and lanes, and upon the beetling cliffs of the Edge of his large parish, in addition to his sacred vocation, he studied birds and insects and plants; and from this place he gave to the world his valuable books upon natural history. He was always a man of the widest sympathies, and his daily life was a communing with nature and the diffusion of a glow of warm Christian charity and loving-kindness. We might almost expect to find such a son as Dean Stanley from such a father and from such associations. Bishop Stanley was a man far ahead of his times. While rector of Alderley his parochial school was the best in the locality, and he himself superintended the whole of the work of his large cure. Nothing was too small for him. In the school hard by he superintended the education of the boys, and in the Radnor mere in the park he taught them to swim. In every way he was the kind helper and friend of his flock. It only strikes me while writing that fifty years back or rather more, in Wilmslow National School, I received a prize from the hand, and was kindly admonished by the sweet voice of one of the highest type of man the world has seen, this gentlemanly English clergyman of the old school, a man of the highest culture and of the most excellent moral worth.

I can only ask you, in conclusion, to notice the very good specimen of the old timbered structure, the ancient village inn; and point out the picturesque old corn mill, and also the site of Alderley Old Hall, burnt down a hundred years back and not rebuilt; and indicate to you one of the best specimens of an ancient cross in existence, which will be found on the way to the station.

I have made my paper as short as I well could. I have not copied at length from established histories. It is not a difficult matter to make a paper by copying a book; and I believe that if I were to try I should prove able to perform that somewhat common feat. I have not beaten the great covers, but have rather tried the outside places—the clumps of trees and the pitsteads at the corners of the fields that have been overlooked by the greater sportsmen—and if I have found here and there a solitary woodcock, or even a jack snipe, I am content with my sport.

ADDENDUM.

Mr. Earwaker has been led by superficial appearances when he states that the older portion of Chorley Hall is "entirely of stone." It is not so. The gables above the square are framed work; but unfortunately this framework is plastered over, and therefore does not show, unless somewhat closely examined; and then, in one part, this timbered work comes down much lower than the eaves of the building. But the most important matter is that the inside of the house is wholly of framed work and raddle-and-dobe, excepting some trifling repairs done from time to time.

Now we cannot conceive of a building having the outside

walls of stone and the inner walls of framework—that is, not if it were all of one age. A little examination by a practical and skilled man will show that this, the older portion of Chorley Hall, as well as the more modern wing, was at first altogether a framed building on a stone plinth. This older plinth, even now, in places shows itself at the foot of the less ancient stone wall. This, the most ancient part of the hall, was beyond question originally a framed building, and the present stonework, ancient as it is, has been only an underwalling of an existing house. These stone-mullioned windows have replaced older oaken windows, the moulded Gothic doorways have replaced the oaken doors and frames of an older wall.

The back parts of the building have in some places at a more recent date been underwalled with bricks; and the massive old stone chimney, which doubtless had at first separate stone shafts, has been topped by a comparatively modern brick stack. But underneath this, and down to the ground, the old chimney still exists, and possibly if it were bared of plaster there is the old mantel arch, as Mr. J. Holme Nicholson suggested; but of this one cannot be sure without some considerable trouble.

Very many of our ancient buildings have a "core" of an older building inside them, and even this most ancient part of Chorley Hall is an old framed building which has been repaired very extensively in former times by stone, a material, by the way, easily obtained in the neighbourhood, perhaps at the time much more easily than bricks, for bricks wanted coals to burn them, and with no roads these were not to be had at Chorley. Later repairs, however, have been made by bricks, which were by the time in more common use.

I may say here that some fifty years back a great uncle of mine, Samuel Norbury, of Alderley, a mason, was em-

ployed to flag a floor in this old hall, and upon digging up the apparently clay floor, he came upon a very good under floor of diamond-shaped flags, belonging to the older order of things.

The oldest portion of Chorley Hall is not, I repeat, entirely of stone; it is an old framed building, which has, at various times in the past, been for the most part cased over by stone and bricks.

ON ONE OF THE EARLIEST LISTS OF PRINTED BOOKS.

BY CHARLES F. COLLMANN.

I HAVE the pleasure to put before you a few remarks on one of the earliest lists of printed books. You are aware that no list of printed books published by Caxton or his successor, Wynkyn de Worde, was printed by them, unless a short advertisement of a breviary, about 1477 or 1478, by Caxton, described by Blades, could be so called. This advertisement is in *one* paragraph of seven lines, five by seven inches, and runs: "If it please ony man spirituel or temporel to buy [here follows the title, &c., of the breviary] late him come to Westmonester in to the Almonesrye and he shall have them good cheap—supplico stet cedula." Two copies of this list are in existence: one, a very good one, in Earl Spencer's library; and the other one, a poor, stained specimen, taken from the binding of some book, in the Bodleian in Oxford.

The earliest catalogue of English literature, which we know, was published in 1595, by Maunsell, in two parts, the first being theological, and the second containing the other sciences.

I therefore must ask you to follow me into Germany, and to allow me to go back to that period of the history of the art

of printing in which the central figure is Johann Gutenberg. He was born in 1397, in Mainz, and lived from 1433 to 1444 in Strasburg. That he carried on his typographical experiments during these years is proved beyond doubt, but no work of that period is known to us. Gutenberg returned to Mainz and joined Johann Fust in 1450. We know that Fust advanced him the means to establish a printing press; that the very considerable sums of money sunk in the establishment before it yielded any profit led to differences between the two partners, and that Gutenberg had to leave. Fust, who retained the printing press and stock in trade as security for his capital, took Peter Schoeffer into partnership. Schoeffer was a writer or illuminator, who probably had been before with Gutenberg and Fust. He seems to have been more congenial to Fust than Gutenberg, for he became Fust's son-in-law. Gutenberg started another printing press in Mainz after 1455, and printed several works up to 1462, when, during the night of the 27th October, the town was taken, sacked, and burned by one of the rival archbishops, Adolph, Duke of Nassau. Gutenberg removed to Eltwyl, the duke's residence, and died there in 1467. Fust died in 1466 of the plague, in Paris, where he had gone to look after a stock of books he had sent there for sale. Schoeffer continued printing after Fust's death, and lived till 1502.

There are altogether, as far as I have been able to ascertain, twenty-three different booklists of the fifteenth century in existence, all of them by German printers. It would lead me too far to enumerate them. Two of them are in the British Museum; one of Regiomontanus, Nürnberg, 1474, and one of Koberger, Nürnberg, ab. 1480. It is obvious that these booklists, although they are not dated, are of the greatest value and interest. And they are not only of typographical value, but as most of the earlier books bear neither date nor name of the place of printing, it is sometimes possible to

determine the date of a book and the place of printing by their aid. They moreover show us the natural development of printing and bookselling. At first these lists were issued by printers, who only sold their own books. It was ten years later, in 1479, that Koberger, the famous Nürnberg Bible printer, issued a booklist containing twenty-two works of which he had only printed nine, so that he was not only a printer, but also a publisher and bookseller. Of a still later period, 1484, there are two booklists in existence, printed in Venice, which show that they were issued by booksellers or agents and not by individual printers. Venice had at this time a good many printing establishments; and the trade carried on by land and by water from Venice, especially into Germany, enabled the Venetian printers, most of whom were Germans, to send large consignments of their books all over the continent. There is, lastly, a very curious booklist recently discovered in the library of the University of Rostock. It is supposed to be a booklist of an itinerant bookseller, possibly from Venice, who sold, bought, and resold books as he went on. He had these booklists printed in the towns he was staying at. In this case it is proved by the type that the list was printed in a monastery in Rostock.

Books in the fifteenth century were treated just like other merchandise, and among the innumerable wagons conveying goods from one place to another were wagons loaded with books. Some of them were so bulky that no doubt a few copies formed a cartload. Whilst other merchants showed their goods outside their shops, or had them announced by the town-crier, the printers made use of their craft. They printed these lists at home, and upon arriving in some town added the name of the hostelry or lodging in ink—that is, written by hand, and distributed the lists. The very earliest booklist we know is by Johann Mentelin, of Strasburg, printed in 1469. It only contains one single book, the

Summa Astensis, a theological work. Only one copy of this list is known, it was in the Weigel collection in Leipzig, and sold to England in 1872. It would be interesting to know where it is at present.* Another list of the same printer, of about 1471, is better known. It is on a small leaf, 19 lines, and contains the *Epistolæ Aurelii Augustini* and eight other books; a facsimile of it is in Dibdin's *Aedes Althorpianæ*. Books of reference usually speak of this list as of the very first booklist in existence.

The booklist which forms the subject of my paper, of which I present a facsimile, was recently discovered in the Royal Library in München. It was taken from the binding of an old book, in the same way as Caxton's advertisement in the Bodleian Library, by Dr. Meyer, one of the librarians, and reproduced and described by him in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*. Dr. Meyer kindly allowed me to make use of his most interesting article for my paper. The booklist before us is by Schoeffer, the famous Mainz printer; the date must be between the 13th June, 1469, which is the date of one of the books on the list, and the 7th September, 1470, the date of the *Epistolæ Hieronymi*, a work prominent on a subsequent booklist of Schoeffer's, and not on this list. Schoeffer printed these lists at his place in Mainz, and when he came to Nürnberg he wrote underneath "venditor librorum reperibilis est in hospicio dicto zum willden mann"—the seller of these books will be found at the inn with the sign of the wild man,—and indeed it is proved that at that time there existed in Nürnberg an inn called zum willden mann.

I have had the list printed in usual type, and added the year of printing, where the edition is known. I have further added the number by which the books can be found in Hain's *Repertorium Bibliographicum*.

* I have since ascertained that it is in the British Museum, as also the original of the 1470 Schoeffer list, containing St. Jerome's Epistolae.

Volentes sibi parare infrascriptos libros magnis cū diligēna correctos. ac in hmōi ſra mogunnē impſſos. bñ ornatos. venāt ad locū habitatoris infrascriptū.

Primo pulcram bibliam in pergameno.
Item ſcām ſcē beati thome de aquino.
Item historiam grecaṽ. & maxia bitannia mulieris
Item historiam Leonardi aretini ex vocatio de amore Tancredi filie ſigiſmūde in Guiſcardum.

hec eſt littera pſalterij

Vendidit libros regibus eſt in hoſpitio Sudo Jacobi willelmo mense

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

Volentes sibi comparare infrascriptos libros magna | cum diligentia correctos. ac in huiusmodi littera moguntie | impressos. bene continuatos. veniant ad locum habitatio | nis infrascriptum.

1) Primo pulcram bibliam in pergameno: a. 1462, Hain 3050.
2) Item secundam secunde beati thome de aquino: a. 1467, Hain 1459.
3) Item quartum scripti eiusdem: a. 1469, Hain 1481.
4) Item tractatum eiusdem de ecclesie sacramentis et articulis fidei: Hain 1425.
5) Item Augustinum de doctrina christiana. cum tabula notabili predicantibus multum proficua: Hain 1957.
6) Item tractatum de ratione et conscientia (Matthaei de Cracovia): Hain 5803.
7) Item magistrum Johannem Gerson de custodia lingue: Hain 7684.
8) Item consolatorium timorate conscientie venerabilis fratris iohannis nider sacre theologie professoris eximii. *(Unknown edition.)*
9) Item tractatum eiusdem de contractibus mercatorum. *(Unknown edition.)*
10) Item bullam Pii pape secundi contra thurcos: Hain 261.
11) Item historiam de presentacione beate marie virginis (Augustini): Hain 1993.
12) Item canonem misse cum prefacionibus et imparatoriis suis. *(Unknown edition.)*
13) Item p . . l [these letters of the original have not been reproduced in the facsimile] | antiphonis in magna ac grossa littera: a. 1459, Hain 13480.
14) Item iohannem ianuensem in catholicon: a. 1460. Hain 2254.
15) Item sextum decretalium. Et (16) clementinam cum apparatu iohannis andree: a. 1467, Hain 5411.
17) Item in iure civil. Institutiones: a. 1468, Hain 9489.
18) Item arbores de consanguinitate et affinitate: a. 1465, Hain 3586.
19) Item libros tullii de officiis. Cum eiusdem paradoxis: a. 1466, Hain 5239.
20) Item historiam griseldis. de màxima constantia mulierum. *(Unknown edition.)*
21) Item historiam Leonardi aretini ex bocatio de amore Tancredi filie sigismunde in Guiscardum, Hain 1587.

hec est littera psalterii.

Venditor librorum reperibilis est in hospicio dicto zum willden mann.

I will now, with your permission, go through the list. It begins in the usual way: "Let those who want to buy any of the undermentioned books, which have been corrected with great care and printed in Mainz—*hujusmodi littera impressos*, 'printed in this type,' is not to be taken literally, as several books are printed with other type—let those come to the place mentioned at foot."

No. 1. A fine bible on vellum. This must be the well-known *Biblia Sacra Latina*, of 48 lines, dated 14th August, 1462, in two volumes, 242 and 239 leaves, printed in two columns. The size is 16⅜in. by 11¾in. It is the first edition of the Bible, bearing the name of a printer, the place and year of execution, and by many considered the noblest of all early bibles. The copies on vellum have the initials in red, blue, and gold; the paper copies have empty spaces. There are altogether seventy copies left. Fust and Schoeffer's house was burned during the sacking of Mainz, three months after this bible was finished. They must, however, have saved a good many of them, as they only reprinted this work in 1472. The remaining copies are very valuable. Mr. Quaritch bought the Sunderland copy. It appeared in his 1884 catalogue at the price of £1,800, and has since been sold to the United States. I hope I am not going too far out of my way, if I add here, that the best known early bibles are the 36, 42, 48, and 49-line bibles. The 36-line bible is the Pfister Bible, and was printed probably in 1460—1461, by Albrecht Pfister, of Bamberg. The 42-line bible is the Mazarin or Gutenberg Bible, printed probably about 1455, by Fust and Gutenberg, in Mainz. We saw a copy at Lord Crawford's house in the summer of 1885. The 49-line bible is by Mentelin, of Strasburg, printed about 1461.

No. 2 is the second book of the second part of St. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest of Italian scholastics of the thirteenth century. It was printed on the 6th March, 1467, with the types of the 1462 bible, and was the first book printed by Schoeffer after Fust's death. The work is in one volume, 258 leaves, 59 lines, 2 columns. A good copy was sold recently in London for £34.

No. 3 is the fourth book of the same author, printed by Schoeffer, 1469: One volume, 274 leaves, 60 lines, 2 columns.

No. 4 is another religious work, by the same author, printed by Gutenberg, after leaving Fust: Quarto, 13 leaves, 34 lines. We find several works generally attributed to Gutenberg on this list.

No. 5 is a religious work, by St. Augustine, printed by Fust, probably about 1465—1466. Mentelin had printed an earlier edition of this book.

No. 6 is a work on the communion, supposed to have been printed by Gutenberg, in 1460, as the type is the same as Gutenberg's *Catholicon:* Quarto, 22 leaves.

No. 7 is a work of Jean Charlier Gerson, the Chancellor of the University of Paris in the fourteenth century, printed by Fust and Schoeffer, without date.

Nos. 8 and 9 are unknown editions.

No. 10 is a bull of Pope Pius I. against the Turks, dated Rome, 11th November, 1463, folio, 8 leaves, 45 lines; first production of Fust and Schoeffer after the fire in 1462.

No. 11 is a sermon of St. Augustine, printed by Fust and Schoeffer, no date, only 9 leaves.

No. 12 is an unknown edition.

No 13. Between No. 12 and the word "antiphonis" the leaf was cut and one line lost; the original shows traces of the letters s and l (Psal). "Haec est littera Psalterii" refers to this work, which is the most interesting of all, the Psalter of 1459. It is no doubt the second edition of 1459; the first was printed in 1457. It was the first printed book with date and name of place, and this second edition contains the first printed text of the Athanasian Creed. This work was reprinted, always with the same type, in 1459, 1490, and 1502; the reprint of 1502 was Schoeffer's last work. It is a single volume; the first edition of 175 leaves, 20 lines; the second 136 leaves, 23 lines. Chatto says about this psalter: "It is the first and almost the only early

example of printing in colours, the large initials being impressed, each in at least two colours, from wooden or metal blocks. They form the most beautiful specimens of this kind of ornament, which the united efforts of the wood engraver and the pressman have produced, and as they are the first letters in point of time, printed with two colours, so they are likely to continue in point of excellence. This art, thus ripened to perfection in its first fruits, was almost immediately lost, and has only been renewed, but to a much inferior point of excellence, in our own century." Of the six surviving copies of 1457, the first edition, most are imperfect, and all but Lord Spencer's copy in public libraries. The best copy is in the Imperial Library, Vienna, others in Paris, Darmstadt, Dresden, London. Of the seven or eight (two or three of the ten formerly known have now disappeared) extant copies of the 1459, the second edition, all are in public libraries except Lord Spencer's and the Syston Park copy. Mr. Quaritch bought the latter one for £4,950, the highest price ever paid for a single book, and put it down in his catalogue of 1884 at the price of £5,250. It is not sold yet. The chief beauties of this work are the magnificent initials and the type, for the cutting of which Schoeffer was deservedly famous. The 305 initials in this book are all most artistically cut in wood, and stamped by hand with extraordinary skill, probably each colour with a separate block. The printing of the text is by no means as regular nor as perfect as in some of the early bibles, and proves that Schoeffer had not the assistance of Gutenberg, the master printer, in this work. Schoeffer printed this Psalter without musical characters, but left space between the lines for them; and in the copies used for church service, the music was added, written by hand or printed from wooden blocks. The earliest specimens of music printed from type belong to a considerably later period.

No. 14 is the well-known *Summa quæ vocatur Catholicon.* The author was Joannes de Balbis de Janua (Genoa)—four parts of a Latin grammar and one part a Latin dictionary: Two volumes great folio, 374 leaves, 66 lines, double columns. Printed by Gutenberg, 1460, after his separation from Fust. It is the fifth book printed with the date. A very fine copy was sold recently in London for £310.

No. 15 is the sixth book of the decretales of Pope Boniface VIII., printed by Fust and Schoeffer, dated 17th December, 1465 (or else the second edition of 1470): 141 leaves.

No. 16 is the *Constitutiones* of Pope Clement V., printed by Schoeffer, after Fust's death, dated 8th October, 1467: One volume, 65 leaves, 41 lines. The first edition of this work was printed by Fust and Schoeffer, in 1460. It was the fourth book printed with a date, and is exceedingly rare.

No. 17 is the *Institutionum Libri V.* of the Emperor Justinianus, printed by Schoeffer, in 1468: 103 leaves, 66 lines, two columns. It is printed with the types of the 1462 bible, and was one of Schoeffer's principal works.

No. 18 is an unknown edition.

No. 19 is *Ciceronis Officia et Paradoxa*, printed by Fust and Schoeffer; no doubt the second edition of 1466. The first edition of 1465 was the first Latin Classic ever printed. There are the first Greek letters in this book. Eighty-eight leaves, 28 lines. In both editions Fust calls Schoeffer puer meus (my son-in-law), whereas on former occasions he called him clericus.

No. 20. This edition is not known, but the story of Griselda has been printed many times. It is one of the best-known novels of Boccaccio, the very last one of the *Decamerone*, and it is quite charming and in no way objectionable. It was translated from the original Italian, by no less a man than the poet Petrarch, who, it is known, was so

delighted with this tale that he translated it at once into Latin to make it more widely known. He styled it, de obedientia et fide uxoria.

No. 21. This edition bears no date and no place, but Schoeffer's device. Twelve leaves, 20 lines. It is the first novel of the fourth giornata in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*, translated into Latin prose, by Leonardo Aretino, and well known in England through Dryden's translation. It is a very horrible tale, and was in olden times a favourite subject for theatrical pieces.

You see that, fifteen years after the first book was printed, Schoeffer was able to put before his clients a catalogue of no little variety. There is a Bible, a Psalter, a dozen religious works, a classical author, a Latin grammar and dictionary, a book for legal gentlemen, and last, not least, two novels.

I should like to add a few words on the number of books printed in those days, especially as I have just lately seen some strange statements in this respect. There were before the year 1500 printing presses in 236 towns, and we know of more than 900 proprietors of printing presses. Hain's *Repertorium* enumerates and describes 16,299 works printed before 1500, and as an edition may be taken as having consisted of at least 250 to 300 volumes, it is evident that from four to five millions of books must have been printed. There is a document in existence which is of considerable importance in this respect. It is a letter written the 20th March, 1472, by the Bishop Joannes Andreas, of Aleria, to the Pope, Sixtus IV., on behalf of the printers, Conrad Schweinheim and Arnold Pannartz. I append the letter as it appears in the fifth volume of *Nicolai de Lyra*, the last book on the list. At the time this letter was written only four volumes of the *Nicolai de Lyra* were printed. I have also added a translation.

When the news of the wonderful invention of the art of

printing reached the monastery of Subiaco, thirteen miles from Rome, the monks, who were nearly all Germans, sent to Mainz for these two printers, who came and set up a printing press in their monastery in 1465. Two years later, Schweinheim and Pannartz were induced by the Massimi family to transfer their press to their house in Rome; and from that time you find in the colophon of their books, "in Domo Petri de Maximis." It appears that, in spite of Prince Massimi's protection, the two German printers were so badly off in 1472, and in such straits, that they had no money to buy food with, but a very large stock of books. Then the aforesaid bishop, a warm friend of theirs, wrote on their behalf to the Pope, asking him to buy books or to advance money on their books. This letter gives a list of all the books printed by them. There are not less than 28 classical works, in 37 editions—total 12,475 books.

It is wonderful that we still possess copies of every one of these books, with one exception. This is the first book on Schweinheim and Pannartz's list, a *Donatus pro puerilis*, and, although Dibdin mentions it as existing in an Italian private library, no authentic copy is known to exist. This is accounted for by the fact, that the *Donatus* was a schoolbook, an elementary Latin grammar, and that schoolboys do not treat their books very kindly. This list proves that an edition was always composed of two hundred and fifty or three hundred copies. Where on the list we find a larger number given, this is the total quantity of the different editions. Take, for instance, No. 7 on the list, the *Epistolae* of St. Jerome; they printed two editions, one in 1468 and one in 1470; each edition in two volumes, divide 1,100 by 4, and you get 275 copies for each edition. It is evident that Schweinheim and Pannartz were men of no ordinary ability and education, that they took a very high view of their profession, and that they made it their aim to print nothing but the very best authors.

It is equally evident, even if we suppose that they had sold part of their large stock of books, that classical books were not very much in demand in Rome, and that they could not sell enough. Perhaps, if they had printed more popular literature, for instance, those single sheets with tales of Saints, or with songs or almanacs, which were sold at every fair in those days, they would have done better. It does not seem as if the Pope had been able or willing to do much for them, for they separated in 1473. Pannartz continued printing in Rome until 1476. Schweinheim seems to have devoted himself to engraving maps upon copper for an edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*, but died soon after in 1477.

I have only to add a word about the Bishop Joannes Andreas. As you see from the heading of the letter, he was librarian to the Pope Sixtus IV. He had always been the warmest friend of the two printers, and had already made a somewhat similar application on their behalf to the preceding Pope Paul II., who reigned from 1464—1471. Aleria is the name of an old Roman colony in the island of Corsica, now a decayed town, and only a titular see.

|| Jo. An. Alerien̄. Episcopi. S. D. n. Pape Bibliothecarii. || ad Xystum. iiij. summum Pontificem Epistola. ||

(C)Ommunis ac trita olim inter gentiles opinio fuit pater beatissime Xyste. iiij. Pontifex Maxime cetera diis deos ipsos duodecim etiam illos principes selectos et magnos appellatos uni necessitati continuo paruisse. Eam enim inter numina omnia absque provocatione imperiosum exercuisse magistratum. Id ne inter christianos quoque vere dici censeatur tua potissimum sapientia clementiaque occurri potest; et ut digneris misericorditer occurere servuli tuae sanctitatis Conradus Sueynhem et Arnoldus Pannartzs Impressores nostri ac utilissime hujus fictoriae artis primi in Italia opifices maximi in urbe operarii ante sanctissimos pedes tuos terram vestigiis tuis impressam deosculantes implorant: namque ego ipse creatura tua ceteras epistolas proprio: hanc illorum nomine et decessoris antea et postmodum tuo numini divino inscripsi. Vox quidem Impressorum sub tanto jam cartharum fasce laborantium: et nisi tua liberalitas opituletur deficientium ista est pater beatissime: Nos de Germaniis primi tanti commodi artem in Romanam Curiam tuam multo sudore et impensa

decessoris tui tempestate deveximus. Nos opifices librarios ceteros ut idem auderent: exemplo nostro incitavimus. Nos reliquis propter impensarum magnitudinem a tanto negotio vel omnino vel maxima ex parte quasi in salebra herentibus recentiore animo viribusque geminatis cum summa difficultate restitimus. Iam tandem defecti nervis et sanguine divinam opem tuam imploramus. Indicem si perlegeris Impressorum a nobis operum: miraberis tante majestatis et apostolici culminis pater vel chartas huic librorum copie potuisse vel Linamenta sufficere. Et ut perlegere valeas usque adeo curis pontificalibus districtus nihil aliud hec ad te epistola continebit. Nam auditis nominibus tantorum autorum duntaxat facere non poteris: si bene tuam pietatem novimus: quin statim nobis subvenias. nec ulla rerum qualiumcunque occupatione difficultateve valebis deterreri. Impressi sunt nostro studio pater Beatissime libri qui in subjectis suo ordine tibi recensebuntur.

Donati pro puerulis ut inde principium dicendi sumamus: unde imprimendi initium sumpsimus: numero trecenti. CCC.

Lactantii Firmiani Institutionum contra gentiles et reliquorum ejus autoris opusculorum volumina octinginta vigintiquinque. DCCC.XXV.

Epistolarum familiarium Ciceronis volumina quingenta quinquaginta. DL.

Epistolarum Ciceronis ad Atticum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

Speculi humane vitae volumina trecenta. CCC.

Divi Augustini de Civitate dei volumina octingenta vigintiquinque. DCCCXXV.

Divi Hieronymi Epistolarum et libellorum volumina mille centum. MC.

M. Tul. Ciceronis de oratore cum ceteris volumina quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.

M. Tul. Ciceronis operum omnium in philosophia vo. quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.

L. Apuleji platonici cum Alcinoo volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

A. Gelii noctium atticarum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

C. Cesaris commentariorum gallici et civilium bellorum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

Defensionis divi Platonis volumina trecenta. CCC.

P. Virgilii Maronis operum omnium volumina quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.

T. Livii Patavini cum Epitomate omnium decadum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

Strabonis Geographi volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

M. Annei Lucani volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

C. Plynii Veronensis de naturali historia volumina trecenta. CCC.

C. Suetonii Tranquilli de duodecim Cesaribus volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

Divi Leonis Pape sermonum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

M. Fabii Quintiliani institutionum oratoriarum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.

Continui. i. Cathene auree divi Thome Aquinatis volumina quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.

Divi Cypriani Epistolarum volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.
Biblie cum opusculo Aristee volumina quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.
Silii Italici cum. C. Calphurnio et Hesiodo volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.
Orationum. M. Tul. Ciceronis cum Invectivis omnibus in Antonium. Verrem. Catilinam et ceteros volumina ducenta septuagintaquinque. CC.LXXV.
P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseos et Elegiarum omnium volumina quingenta quinquaginta. D.L.
Nicolai de Lyra volumina Mille Centum. M.C.

Horum omnium voluminum summa ut tua pietas perspicit pater Beatissime nisi fallimur efficit codices duodecies mille quadringentos septuaginta quinque; acervum quidem ingentem et nobis Impressoribus tuis ad ferendum qua parte restat: intolerabilem: propter eam quam in initio epistole posueramus necessitatem. nam ingens sumptus ad victum necessarius cessantibus emptoribus ferri amplius a nobis nequit. Et ementes non esse nullum est gravius testimonium quam quod domus nostra satis magna plena est quinternionum inanis rerum necessariarum. In te igitur clementissime pater qui es sapientissimus doctissimusque, spes nostra sita est, in te subveniendi nostre necessitati est copiarum ne pereamus. Da nobis subsidium de excelso throno majestatis tue; parati sumus pro clementie tuo arbitrio de nostra merce id est de impressis quinternionibus nostris tibi tot tradere: quot volueris et quibus volueris. Tua incredibilis mansuetudo subveniat nobis de aliquo officio ut possimus nos et nostros alere. Impensa est facta in solius Nicolai de Lyra a nobis voluminibus tanta ut amplius nihil nobis supersit ad vivendum. Si venderemus opera nostra non solum a tua pietate nihil peteremus: Sed ultro in presentium temporum articulo in quo te plurium egere non nescimus: ipsi nostra offerremus. faciemusque quotiens tuo adjumento fortuna nobiscum usa esse videbitur fronte sereniore. Interea pater sancte adjuvent nos miserationes tue: quia pauperes facti sumus nimis. Sis perpetuo sospes et felix pater Beatissime. Rome. xx. Marcii. M.CCCC.LXXII. Pontificatus tui Clementissimi Anno Primo.

[TRANSLATION.]

It was a common and familiar belief among the Gentiles, most holy father, Pope Xystus the IV., that all other beings obeyed the Gods, but that the twelve Gods themselves, even those distinguished as chiefs, and named the great Gods, obeyed Necessity alone. For She exercises a tyrannical sway among all the deities, without any appeal. Now, your wisdom and benignity, more than anything else, can prevent this from seeming to be affirmed with truth amongst Christians also, and that you will graciously deign to prevent it, the humble servants of your Holiness, Conrad Sweynheim and Arnold Pannartz, our printers and the first workers in this most useful art of impressing, and the greatest printers in the city, implore, at the feet of your Holiness, venerating the ground upon which you tread: I, your devoted subject, have written other letters in my own name, this I have written in theirs, to the august person of your predecessor first, and to your own afterwards. The prayer of the printers, who are now struggling with such a mass of paper, and are ready to give way under it,

unless your benevolence assists them; is this, most holy Father: We, first of all, introduced an art of so great utility from Germany into your Roman court, at much labour and expense, in the time of your predecessor. Through our example we incited other book printers to make a like attempt. Whilst the rest, on account of the greatness of the expenses, either entirely or in great part, failing in this important undertaking, stuck fast, as it were, in the difficult part of the road; we, with more vigorous determination and with redoubled energy, yet with the greatest difficulty, have held on. Now at last, yielding in strength and spirit alike, we implore your august aid. If you will read the list of works printed by us, Father, you, a man of such Majesty and apostolic dignity, will wonder that either paper or designs (types) could be supplied for such a number of books. And that you may have the opportunity of reading it, distracted as you are with the cares of the Pontificate—this letter to you shall contain nothing in addition. When you have heard merely the names of such great authors, if we understand your kindliness, you cannot but come to our assistance, nor will you be prevented, by any pressure of business or difficulty whatsoever, from doing so. The books, which will be noticed by you, most holy Father, in their own order in the list submitted, have been printed by our efforts.

[Here follows the list of books.]

The sum of all these volumes, as you will see, Holy Father, in your Goodness, comes, unless we mistake it, to 12,475, a vast pile and intolerable for us, your printers, on whom it rests to bear through the need we have mentioned in the beginning of the letter. For we can no longer meet the immense outlay required for support, when purchasers fail. And there is no stronger evidence of the dearth of purchasers than the fact that our house, which is spacious enough, is full of Books and empty of the necessities of life. In you, beneficent Father, who are most wise and learned, rests our hope, in you lies the power to help us in our need, and save us from destruction. We are prepared at your direction to give from our goods, *i.e.*, from the books printed by us, as many as you wish and to whom you wish. May your kindliness, which is beyond belief, help us by one service or another to maintain ourselves and families. We have incurred such expense on the volumes of Nicolaus de Lyra alone, that we have nothing left to live on. If we could only sell our works, we not only refrain from asking anything of your goodness, but would even contribute from our own means in the present juncture, when we are aware that your Holiness has many needs. And this we will do when Fortune by your assistance shall be seen to turn to us a brighter look. Meanwhile, Holy Father, may your compassion relieve us, for we are in extreme poverty. May you have constant health and happiness, most Holy Father.

Rome, 20 March, 1472, first year of your most clement reign.

MISERERES IN MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY THE REV. E. F. LETTS, M.A.

THE Cathedral, once Collegiate Church, of Manchester contains a series of the most elaborately carved stalls. While their massive solidity has withstood the ravages of time for four centuries, the delicacy of the tabernacle work remains unrivalled in perpendicular work. I will not describe the upper part of the stalls, but will confine myself to the actual seats themselves, upon the lower side of which, unseen to any except the penetrating and inquisitive antiquary, are carved most curious bosses of wood. The church of Manchester was apostolic—that is, everything goes in twelves: twelve clerestory windows in choir and nave, twelve bays, twelve altars, and so twelve stalls on each side of choir, with niches for twelve times twelve saints, which, however, seem never to have been placed in them. Besides these side stalls there were three return stalls on each side at the western end, for the purpose of shutting in and protecting from draught the entire choir. These were connected with massive doors and covered with an elaborate screen, from which the gospel was read and sermons preached to the laity in the nave, and upon which the holy rood or rod, *i.e.*,

the crucifix, stood, accompanied by the figures of S. Mary and S. John. The socket of this rood can still be seen under the organ case.

There being then thirty stalls, the same number of sub-cellæ or misereres are found under the seats, fifteen on each side, of which three are return stalls, *i.e.*, facing east, and twelve north and south.

The use of the bracket or miserere was, as its name imports, to show a little mercy upon tired legs and backs during the recitation of the psalms in the daily offices. It was a quasi seat when the real seat was turned up to lean against, but too shallow to sit upon, and if the occupant tried to do so the whole seat revolved upon its pivots and threw the sitter forward. The ancient offices of the church to be said daily were seven,—lauds, prime, terce, sext, nones, vespers, and compline, besides, of course, the daily celebration (often more than once) of the holy eucharist. For convenience' sake lauds and prime were said together, one after the other, but early in the morning; they are coincident with and closely resembling our modern morning prayer. Likewise terse, sext, and nones were often said at noon, while vespers and compline (which again gave the model of our evensong) concluded the day. At each of these offices about four psalms, besides canticles and hymns were recited, $4 \times 7 = 28 + 7$ canticles $+ 7$ hymns$=42$ standings to sing daily, besides endless versicles and responses. Our predecessors must not therefore be considered lazy because they allowed some slight assistance to tired limbs. Having described the use of the miserere, our next consideration is its form and appearance. The ledges of the misereres in Manchester Cathedral are septagonal in shape, moulded in triplet at the outer edges, and so beautifully let into the back of the seat that not one of them seems ever to have started or got loose. Below these

ledges are groups of carved oak in the shape of bosses, and upon these groups the fancy of the mediæval artist seems to have run riot. I know of no cathedral in England where the subjects are treated more racily and freshly than here. Perhaps the sub-cellæ of King Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster Abbey approach the nearest to ours in point of excellence. Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Cheshire were, I think, visited by one particular carver about the beginning of the sixteenth century, as one can almost trace the same hand in the "Little Red-riding-hood" of Chester Cathedral, "The blacksmith shoeing a goose" and "The friar fox preaching to the geese" of Whalley Abbey, as identical with "The sow playing the bagpipes for her sucklings to dance to," of Manchester. The same with Punch wheeling his wife Judy in a barrow is shown at Ripon, while at S. John's, Beverley, no less than fifteen of our subjects are repeated with the same flowers, fruit, and surroundings, the same touch and the same spirit, putting it beyond a doubt that the same carver was employed upon both churches, if not the others. After a very careful examination, I have come to the conclusion that three separate hands were employed in carving our misereres. The first one, who is *facile princeps*, is noted for his scenes. His figures, whether human or animal, are extremely good, and he gets in all the details in a truly wonderful and comprehensive way; each group tells its own story, and like Hogarth's pictures, the more you look at them the more you see in them. The under carving is wonderful.

The second carver delights almost exclusively in fabulous animals, which are often most ingenious and grotesque, but neither in delicacy of finish nor originality of conception can he be compared to the first.

The third hand is evidently that of an apprentice. The subjects are clumsy attempts to copy the second carver's

beasts, but the work is far rougher, the anatomy and proportions very inferior and not worthy to stand side by side with the first carver's results.

As a considerable period is said to have elapsed between the erection of the stalls on the north and south sides, I am inclined to think that these different hands were employed at different times; and at some subsequent restoration the seats have evidently been mixed, as I find fifteen subjects apparently of the first workman's production, and fifteen of the other two together. Again, there is an angel with a shield on both sides, but their places do not now correspond. It is, however, possible that the whole period was occupied in carving, as the amount of work upon the canopies is enormous, and many simultaneous orders may have been going on about the same time.

One feature of peculiar beauty in these groups of carvings is the varied nature of the finials or roundels. The seat or ledge gradually lengthens out into a thin tendril or branch, which, curving round in an S-shaped bend, encloses a space whereon is carved most nature-like a beautiful flower or animal; the end of the curved branch also terminates in a knot of the flower or a bud. I think it not improbable that here and in the flowers on the arms of the stalls a fourth hand has been employed.

I will now examine each miserere separately, beginning with the dean's stall, that one which is nearest to the choir western gates on the south side. It is, as is also the bench end and the arms of the stall, the never-wearying legend of "Oskel Lathom." Bishop Stanley must have taken great pride in it to have repeated it so often. The Stanley eagle finds a number of resting-places along the roof of the cathedral. The Derby and Ely chapels bristle with his claws; and not content with filling the church with such cognizances, the Stanleys plastered every house they possessed with these

devices in and around Manchester and everywhere else where they bore sway. In this version of the legend, notice the smock frock of the labourer to the left hand side, with his victuals tied up in a cloth over his shoulder. Behind him is a little tree, an unfailing subject in these stalls, for whenever the carver wanted to fill up a corner and round off his scene, and moreover wanted to be saved cutting away a lump of wood, he formed it into a tree. These trees occur on fourteen of the misereres. Unfortunately in this one the head of the eagle is gone; the baby has the curious tight swathing bands it is generally represented with, but we see the long christening robe was evidently coming into fashion, for here it is hanging over the side of the tree. Another labourer, this time in doublet and trunk hose, carrying also his bundle, is passing on the right; unfortunately the head is missing. A third is mounting a steep flight of steps to the castle. How interesting if this were a representation of the Lathom House which was so gallantly defended by Charlotte de la Tremouille and afterwards destroyed in the civil wars. This castle is carved with the greatest minuteness. In talking this matter over with the Earl of Lathom, I found that no view of the old castle is known to exist, and he expressed great satisfaction when I sent him a sketch of this miserere; the circles of the finials are figleaves. This subject is by artist number one.

The second stall is supported by the Stanley eagle. It is carved by artist number two. It is remarkable for neatness of finish, every feather being perfect. The most awkward part about it is the position of the talons. The eagle claws and sprigs of trefoil adorn the finials.

The third return stall has for its boss a dragon of a very terrific and fierce aspect. It has four legs and scaly wings, and a snout deeply furrowed. This is again by artist two. The finials are deliciously free representations of blackberry

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blossoms. One of the arms of this stall has carved on each side of it a jester's head and shoulders, most probably dependents of Lord Derby. The fool on the south side has on a hood with asses' ears and a bell at the end of the peak; the face is a splendid study of suppressed fun. He evidently feels he is in church and must behave. On the other side the hood terminates in a fox's brush, and the face, which is turned back, is convulsed with laughter. The readiness of the wood carver to catch passing scenes and ideas is here, as elsewhere, capitally illustrated. No doubt the earl's retainers looked in now and then to see how the work was progressing, and many a merry quip and jest may have passed between carver and fool ere the latter's mobile features were left for all time upon the woodwork of the choir.

The corner stall, which is treated somewhat differently from its *vis-a-vis* on the north side, has carved upon its miserere a demi-angel volant, bearing a shield, upon which appears the cognizance of the Isle of Man: three kneeling legs conjoined, armed and spurred; Lord Derby being king of that island, and his family very proud of the badge. The robe of the angel is curious. It is a surplice with loose sleeves, but round the neck is an amice, the collar of which may be seen distinctly. This amice, which was anciently a head covering, is very rarely found with the surplice, but always with the alb. The plaiting of the skirts of the vestments are very beautifully rendered. In the finials there is represented a kind of sunflower and leaf. This carving is almost identical with the canon residentiary's stall on the north side (once the precentor's), with the exception that the shield is of a slightly different shape, and is charged with a S. George's cross, while the finials have pineapples in full fruit. I assign this stall to artist number one. The irregular position of these misereres is one argument to me that probably in Heyrick's time they were taken down and re-erected.

The fifth miserere represents the old badge of the elephant and castle;* for what reason it was placed here I am quite at a loss to imagine: the fluted ear of the elephant is curious—it is a pity his trunk is gone—and it is also curious to observe that the carver was not a sufficiently good anatomist to know that the elephant has *four* knees, and that his hind legs do not bend outwards. The castle on his back is most elaborate; it is an octagon keep, flanked by many towers and battlements, and an elaborate doorway. The saddle cloth is scalloped and fastened on with two girths and a broad crupper, two trees on each side complete the view. This also, I take it, is by artist one, at least the castle is. The finials represent, I fancy, sunflowers. This stall is now assigned to the Archdeacon of Manchester.

The next represents an exciting contest or tilt between two wild men armed with spears, and seated, the one on a dromedary or giraffe, the other on a unicorn. The warrior on the dromedary appears to have a small triangular shield, the other has none. I suppose the rider of the unicorn is about to be unhorsed, and is clutching at the mane of his courser to steady himself. It is unfortunate that the horn of the unicorn which is about to impale the dromedary is missing, as are also the spears of the combatants, together with the heads of the dromedary and its rider. The finials of this group represent some coniferous plant. It is probable that some ancient masque gave the subject for this scene.

An incident from the ancient German legend of Reinike Fuchs is depicted in the next group, where Master Reynard is seen making off with the housewife's fattest goose, while

* I am not aware that any Lancashire family in old times bore this charge, but it has of late years been adopted by the town of Bolton-le-Moors. It is also the ancient cognizance of Coventry. Manchester was in the See of Lichfield when it was allied to Coventry, and owing to the similarity of wares manufactured in the two towns there may have been some connection between it and Manchester.

her little child stands horror-stricken in the doorway of the farmstead behind her. This may be a cut at the friars, who were said to flirt with the farmers' wives and then go off with their best possessions, to the loss of their children. The finials of the miserere represent on one side a fox busily studying a book, while on the other he takes the place of a pedagogue instructing two cubs. His left paw is administering a sound cuff to their laziness, while his right bears a formidable birchen rod. There is a grim humour in assigning this stall to the high master of the grammar school, and I put this to the credit of the first artist. This subject figures also at Boston and Lincoln, where the emblem of S. Hugh was a goose.

The next group leads me to fancy that artist number one was probably a foreigner, or, at least, had resided in climates where monkeys are common, as it is entirely a study of ape life. A packman, girded with an ample pocket, has fallen asleep in an attitude of profound weariness; and so sound are his slumbers that he fails to observe the presence of a troop of monkeys, which has descended from the trees and is busily engaged in rifling his pannier. Some are dragging out the bobbins, packets, and gew-gaws, while others are handing garments to their fellows. One is tasting the contents of a mysterious parcel; a second is climbing on the back of his mate to obtain a better view; and a third, leaving the delights of the pack, is engaged in searching for hidden prey in the good man's curly locks. The finials are also monkeys, the right nursing a baby; in the left Master Jacko appears overcome with the contents of a wine flask, no doubt in allusion to the cause of the pedlar's heavy sleep. This stall is occupied by the senior chaplain or vicar, now minor canon.

Bear baiting, bull baiting, and cock fighting were favourite pastimes with our forefathers; where the cabstand is now

opposite the college gate once grew the Bull Oak, and not many yards from the cathedral site, at the foot of Shude Hill, stood the ring where Bruin was put upon his mettle; while in a field now traversed by Corporation Street stood the cockpit of the town. Both these latter amusements are portrayed on our stalls, and bear baiting is the subject of the next miserere. A terrible conflict is going on, in which five dogs are worrying the unfortunate beast; one is on his back, another holds him by the flank, and under this dog's body may be seen the broken stake and ring, from which the bear has escaped, though the heavy collar is still round his neck; his liberty thus enables him to get down and maul a third hound, while two others are gallantly endeavouring to draw off his attention from his victim to themselves. So life-like are the attitudes of the dogs that you can almost hear them bark.* Two ox-eyed daisies form the finials to this group, while the knots are profiles of the same flower. I judge that artist one carved this subject as well as the last. This stall falls to the occupation of the senior singing man.

A lion, passant guardant, with very clumsy paws, and an elementary tree hard by, upholds the next stall, and seems the work of the third carver, who, I think, was a tyro in the art. The attitude of the animal, which may have been a supporter of the lord of the manor's arms, La Warre, is very stiff. The only good feature in this subject is the graceful sweep of the lion's immensely long tail. A conventional rose with a bud for the knot fills the finial on either side. This rose is a charge on the supporters of the Manchester arms, and probably alludes to the part the once owner took in the civil wars. The third singing man sits here.

* One of the ancient vestments of our church was a red braunched chasuble, broidered with bears, the cognizance of the Earls of Warwick, and given by Bishop Stanley, whose mother was sister of Neville the King-maker.

The eleventh stall reckoning from the dean's end has for the subject of its miserere a very spirited combat between a lion and a dragon, in which it is evident that the lion is getting the worst of it, for while he has his teeth imbedded in the dragon's wings, that reptile has the whole of the lion's body within the grasp of his enormous jaws. The vertebræ of the dragon's neck and its furrowed snout are very carefully carved in the special style of the second artist. Two lions' masks adorn the finials.

Another combat, this time between a hairy wild man of the woods and a fabulous monster, is the subject of the twelfth miserere. He wields a formidable twisted club, and is armed with a small circular buckler, while his only clothing is a turban and cincture of leaves. The dragon's left fore paw, which once was apparently lacerating the leg of the wild man, is now broken. I cannot assign this for certain to either artist; it is possibly the joint work of both. There is something suggestive in the finials being adorned with fig leaves, probably another masque. Wild men and dragons were common supporters to great families, or perhaps a contest with sin is intended, the dragon representing lust and its effects making a man animal and brutish.

One of the most curious subjects in these stalls is that represented on the thirteenth. I am quite at a loss to discover its significance, though no doubt at the time of its construction it alluded in a striking manner to some passing event. A sow, standing on her hind legs, is lustily blowing a sackbut or ancient bagpipes, while four of her offspring are dancing in the most comical manner on their hind legs. Unfortunately three of the heads of the little ones and the face of the mother are wanting. The pig-trough occupies the foreground, while in the rear may be seen the stye. The strong manes on the back of the sow and two of the pigs show how short a time had elapsed since the breed was running wild

in the oak forests of Manchester. The people of Manigcæstre were celebrated in Saxon times for their large herds of swine.* The artist number one has again let his fancy run away with him on the finials, where on the one side a boar is represented playing a harp, and on the other a similar animal is carved with a high-peaked saddle on its back. I find this subject carved at Manchester, Beverley, Ripon, Boston, and Richmond, and as a gurgoyle at Melrose. I am told that the troubadours were so fond of good entertainment that they received the name of pigs. This is a possible explanation. Another is the connection between this subject and the old English Inn sign, "Pig and Whistle," derived, it is said, from the Saxon Piga, a piggin or pot, and Washael, your health. Yet a further explanation: the monks of Swineshead, in Lincolnshire, had the mill and lands in Manchester, where in its church a stall may have been assigned to the monk in charge of the grist. This does not, however, account for the curious frequency in the north of this subject. Also the arms of the Booths, of Salford, was three boars' heads (erased).

The fourteenth miserere, a study, I think, from the apprentice's hand, forms the other supporter of Lord de la Warr's arms, an heraldic antelope with a tail as long as the lion's. The position is awkward and strained. Two very pretty flowers of doubtful classification—possibly raspberries—terminate the subject on either side.

The last stall on the decani side, at present assigned to the chancellor of the diocese, is also the work of the apprentice, and has been much mutilated. What remains of it seems to represent a winged sea monster; triple cup-like flowers adorn the finials.

* Notice Mr. Ford Madox Brown's picture of the repulse of the Danes in the Town Hall, where the Danish leader has fallen over a little pig, and a lighted torch has fallen on the stye.

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The Cantoris, or northern stalls, were not begun, it is related, for at least a decade after the others. They were the gift of a wealthy London merchant and cloth worker, whose trade mark impaled with the arms of his companies (haberdashers and grocers) may be seen on the eastern poppy-head. His name was Richard Beck.

To begin with the return stall nearest the western gates we find an angel of precisely similar character to that of the fourth stall on the decani side, though bearing a slightly larger shield, charged with the cross of St. George, to whom the church was partly dedicated; it is also the arms of the city of London. The finials are large and contain admirably carved illustrations of pineapples.

The second miserere occupied by Canonicus II. is a beautifully carved pelican in piety. Three young ones are in the ready nest; though an ignorant restorer, not in the least understanding his subject, has placed most absurd heads upon the original bodies. Chestnut leaves form the finials. There is a peculiarity in the back of this stall which makes it unique in the collection, for whereas all the other pillarets of the groinings have floral terminations, this one has two angels, one with a donkey's face, the other with that of an ape.

The fourth canon residentiary's stall is another example of feeble work. Two monsters, neither dragons, cockatrices, winerns, nor griffins, but partaking of some of the characteristics of all these creatures, are locked in a deadly embrace. They would be utterly unable to stand in any other position. Two species of sunflower form the finials of this stall.

I can speak but little of the carving on the fourth stall, as it has been almost entirely defaced. One writer thinks it has represented two persons going on pilgrimage, but if I might hazard a conjecture I should say that it meant the

pursuit of a thief. The two deeply carved vine leaves of the finials are still perfect, and might suggest a scene connected with drunkenness.

The twelfth, which as far as one can judge illustrated a very similar subject, has also been dreadfully defaced.

The next stall, now assigned to the archdeacon of Lancaster, has also had its carving very much mutilated, but we can decipher that a wearied pilgrim having asked of the goodwife a drink from her pitcher, has either dropped and broken it, or in endeavouring to snatch a kiss as well has made *her* break the vessel. He is now running off, while she is left with her hands raised in despair. The water is cleverly represented running out of the broken pitcher. It is, however, sad that the hands of the lady and the head of the pilgrim have been broken. Two very freely executed columbines are carved on the finials.

The next stall depicts a winged lion with twisted tail of clumsy proportions. The marks of the "prentice hand" are again noticeable. Two raspberry leaves are on each side.

A most singular subject is given on the under master's stall, and one which shows the extraordinary flights of fancy indulged in by the mediæval artist. A mermaid emerging from a shell is thrusting a spear down the throat of a terrible horned dragon. The agony of the beast is well represented in the convolutions of its tail. Three buds of a sunflower are displayed on either side. I find the subject of children emerging from shells and fighting beasts is a common one, and represents purity conquering sin.

The second minor canon (once myself) is the owner of a most curious stall, showing that the game of backgammon was popular in England three and a half centuries ago, for here are represented board and counters at the moment when an important throw is being made, though raised arm

and dice box are wanting. A manchet bread and traces of a glass bespeak an Inn scene, which is borne out by the mutilated kneeling figure in the right hand corner drawing a jug from a standing pot. The reclining figure in the opposite corner is either playing a dulcimer or employed in making some kind of pastry with a peculiar frame. I am told crumpets are made in a similar frame. A manchet bread is beside her. The finials are two beautiful Tudor roses.

Another scene from the "Reinike Fuchs" must next be described: it is the execution of the fox by the owls and the rooks. Reynard is mounted on the dog, whose left ear he holds in his paw; the noose is round his neck, to the other end of which is suspended a dead rabbit, the sign of his guilt, and everything shows that his last moment has come. The carving of the trees is very beautiful, as is also the treatment of the two water lilies on the roundels.

The two next stalls represent, I think, a rebus on the word Hunting-don, the name of the first warden of the Collegiate Church, for the former shows the stag in the full chase, a hound is jumping at its throat, and its protruding tongue manifests its exhaustion. The position of the feet alone and its tail show that a second dog was in the foreground of the picture. In the second scene the hart is being broken up; its throat is cut, and the venerer, kneeling on the sward, is in the act of disembowelling it, signifying that the hunting is *done*. Raspberries and sun flowers are the accompaniments of these two misereres.

The twelfth stall, which is sadly mutilated, has been described above.

A contest between a fighting cock and a cockatrice covers the next boss. It is to be regretted that the head of the cockatrice and the cock's beak and wattles have been broken off. A coniferous flower completes the group.

A peculiar beast, something like a unicorn, with a saw for its headpiece, is badly carved by the apprentice on the last stall but one. The back of a heraldic rose is cleverly treated in the finials.

It took me a long time to decipher the meaning of the final subject which completes the series of these most remarkable miserere carvings. The depiction, however, I assume to be "the hares' or the rabbits' revenge." A hunter, as shown by his horn, is bound hand and foot to a long spit, which two levcrets, though now mutilated, were once turning at either end. Behind him are four pots or pans suspended over a huge fire. Two traces of tripods to hold these pots may still be seen, while in another pan the head of the dog may be observed peeping forth. Hard by, sitting up on its haunches, is a hare, with its right paw in a suspended salt box, actively engaged in seasoning the canine broth. The holes of the warren are in the background. A side view of a Tudor rose is again the subject of the finials. A trace of the hunter's cross-bow may be observed in the foreground. This group is perhaps the most daring flight of the first artist's imagination. May it also represent the end of hunting or Hunting-done? another rebus, and a worthy termination to the series.

WHO WAS MISTRESS JOYCE LEWES, OF MANCHESTER?

BY WILLIAM E. A. AXON.

IN the "Acts and Monuments" of John Foxe there is an account of the "apprehension and death of Mistress Joyce Lewes, the wife of Thomas Lewes, of Manchester, most constantly suffering for God's word at Lichfield" (*Foxe*, ed. by Townsend and Cattley, viii., p. 401). This is under the date of 1557, and we are told that Joyce Lewes, "a gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparel, and such like foolishness, with which follies the most part of the gentlefolks of England were then and are yet infected." She was twice married, her first husband being "one called Appleby," and her second Thomas Lewes, of Manchester. She and her husband were apparently resident at or near Lichfield; and we are told that early in the reign of Queen Mary she went to mass, but her scruples were raised by the preaching of Lawrence Saunders, and further increased by conferences with Mr. John Glover, whose house was hard by her own. It may be remarked that his brother, Robert Glover, of Coventry, in 1555, whose house was the resort of Latimer, was executed at Lichfield under the same episcopate. Compelled to attend church by her husband, she showed her contempt by turning her back to the holy water, &c. She was accused of despising the sacramentals, and an episcopal

citation was issued, but her husband, when the sumner delivered it, forced the man to eat it "by setting a dagger to his heart; and when he had eaten it he caused him to drink to it, and so sent him away." The anger of Mr. Lewes changed to fear when he realised what he had done, and, having made his submission, the bishop allowed the lady a month in which to change her opinions. But her conferences with Glover only increased her steadfast determination to hold the faith. Her husband, who was so rough in his treatment of the sumner, had now changed his tune, and when urged to make an effort to save her, "or if the worst should come, to be content to forfeit so much money rather than to cast his own wife into the fire," he replied that he would not lose or forfeit anything for her sake. Joyce Lewes was taken before the Bishop of Lichfield; the see was then held by Ralph Bayne, S.T.P., a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, and a noted persecutor. She was committed to a prison so insanitary that her maid swooned on being taken into it. Further examinations finally resulted in her condemnation, and she remained a year in prison "because she was committed to the sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to death in his time as he affirmed: for which things after her death he was sore troubled and in danger of his life." She refused to confess to the priests, and passed her last night in "prayer, reading and talking with them that were purposely come unto her to comfort her with the word of God." A temptation of hers is recorded, but it had passed before eight o'clock when the sheriff came to announce that she had but another hour to live. The sad procession went through the town, Mistress Lewes being led by two of her friends, Michael Reniger and Augustine Bernher. She was faint from her long imprisonment, and a messenger was sent to the house of the sheriff for a drink. She took the cup in her hands, saying, "I

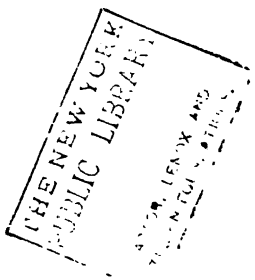
drink to all them that unfeignedly love the gospel of Jesus Christ, and wish for the abolishment of papistry." Some of the women bystanders drank with her, and were afterwards enjoined penance for thus "pledging her." When she was chained to the stake she was "well coloured" in her face, and the beholders looked with pity upon her. "When the fire was set upon her she neither struggled nor stirred, but only lifted up her hands toward heaven, being dead very speedily; for the under-sheriff, at the request of her friends, had provided such stuff by which she was suddenly despatched out of this miserable world."

The sheriff of Lichfield, in 1557, was Robert Ensdale, and as the election was at Michaelmas, it may be that the sheriff who refused to act was his predecessor, Nicholas Byrd (Harwood's *History of Lichfield*). This is rather confirmed by the fact that the martyrdom is entered under the month of August, 1557, in the "Register" of Thomas Bryce, who, however, is mistaken in the name of the sufferer (Farr's *Elizabethan Poetry*, p. 171). He says:

> When Joyce Bowes at Lichefield died,
> Continuing constant in the fier;
> When tired faith was truely tried,
> Haveing her iuste and long desier;
> When she with others were put to death,
> We wishte for our Elizabeth.

Clement Cotton in his "Mirrour of Martyrs," however, says "it is like to be Sheriffe Hopkins to whom Master Bradford writes, being afterwards a prisoner in the Fleet." One of the illustrations of the *Historien der Martelaren* of J. Gysius (Dordrecht, 1657) represents the execution of Joyce Lewes, of Manchester. Fuller has a characteristic reference to Bishop Bayne, who had been professor of Hebrew at Paris, and wrote a commentary on the Proverbs. "Sure I am," says Fuller, "that he forgot a passage of Solomon's therein: 'But he that hath mercy on the poor, happy is he' (Proverbs

xiv. 21)—this Baynes making a bloody persecutor of God's poor servants within his jurisdiction. The genteel birth and breeding of Mrs. Joyce Lewes was not too high for him to reach at, and the poor condition of Joan Wast, a blind woman in Derby, was not too low for him to stoop to, condemning them both to death, with many other faithful witnesses of the truth" (Fuller's *Church History*, ii. 397). The Rev. B. Richings identified the house in which Mrs. Lewes lived in Lichfield (*Narrative of the Persecution of two Martyrs, Robert Glover and Mrs. Lewis, of Mancetter;* also Sibree and Caston's *Independency in Warwickshire*, 1855). The Rev. W. Beresford, who calls her Mrs. Lewis, states that she was the daughter of Sir Thomas Curzon, of Croxall, and the niece of Bishop Latimer (*Diocesan History of Lichfield*, p. 218). These alone would make it sufficiently dispose of any idea that Joyce Lewes was of Lancashire birth, and it is equally certain that she was not connected with the county by marriage. Thomas Lewes was of Mancetter, not of Manchester. It is not the only time that the two places have been confounded. On referring to the earliest editions of the *Book of Martyrs*—those of 1562, 1583, and 1641—it will be seen that the martyr is distinctly said to have been of Mancetter. The change to Manchester must have been early made, for the name of that place is given both by Gysius and Cotton. If Manchester cannot claim Joyce Lewes as one of its worthies, it can at all events disclaim any inheritance in Thomas Lewes, who consigned his wife to the prison and the stake.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MONUMENTAL EFFIGY AT BAGULEY HALL

MONUMENTAL EFFIGY AT BAGULEY HALL.

BY JAMES CROSTON, F.S.A.

SOME twenty years ago, or thereabouts, while on a visit at Carrington, in Cheshire, my attention was called by Mr. Leigh, the officer of health for Manchester, to a mutilated effigy affixed to a wall in the garden of a house at Millbank, Partington. An examination showed that it was the figure of a warrior, and that it had probably been removed from an altar tomb, or some similar sepulchral memorial. On inquiry, I was told that nothing was known of its history, except that it was believed by its then possessor to have been removed from some neighbouring church many years previously, and that having been thrown aside as worthless, while some repairs or alterations were being made, it was obtained for a trifling sum by one of his ancestors, and placed in the position in which I saw it.

The figure, which is attached to a solid stone slab, is sculptured in full relief, and represents a knight, life size, and habited in full military costume, in the attitude of repose, with the hands conjoined upon the breast as if in supplication—

That men might know that while he dide he praid.

The features are very rudely delineated, but in other respects the composition is boldly executed; and, excepting

that the lower extremities have been mutilated, it is in a fair state of preservation. The deceased is represented as armed in a complete suit of what is evidently intended to imitate chain mail, though the graven lines of the chain links cannot easily be distinguished; if, however, the lines ever existed, as very likely they did, they must have long since disappeared under the repeated applications of the painter's brush to which the effigy has been subjected. The body is enveloped in a hauberk, surmounted by a surcoat confined at the waist by a plain belt, from beneath which it opens in front, and, reaching down to the knee, falls on each side in graceful folds. The head, which rests upon a cushion or pillow, is covered with a cerveliere or scull-cap, worn over the coif-de-mailles; chausses cover the legs, and the knees have the additional protection of genouillières. A short straight sword, with crossed hilt and ornamented pommel, depends from the waist-belt, and on the left side is the shield, large, and slightly concave to the person, on which is emblazoned the heraldic coat of the owner—three lozenges, two and one. It is worthy of remark that there is no indication of any guige to support the shield, but this may have been intentionally omitted by the sculptor for the purpose of giving greater prominence to the heraldic blazonry which is repeated upon the breast of the surcoat. The general treatment and the characteristics of the figure, coupled with the fact that, with the exception of the genouillières, there is a total absence of plate defences, leads to the supposition that the date of this interesting piece of monumental sculpture is as early as the reign of Edward II., probably about the year 1320, after which time plate armour began to form a more prominent feature in defensive equipment. In the composition which is thus referred to the crusading period, the lower extremities are broken off immediately below the knee; but in the portions

remaining there is nothing to favour the idea that the effigy ever presented the cross-legged attitude which, according to generally received opinion, denotes exclusively the soldiers of the Cross—a conclusion, however, the correctness of which there is good reason to doubt, as it is known that the priestly soldiers of the Temple were not all thus commemorated, while, on the other hand, it is equally certain that the same posture was assumed in the monumental effigies of others who never in any way served under the banner of the Cross. There is no date or inscription upon the stone, and the only clue by which the departed warrior whom it was intended to commemorate can be identified is the blazonry upon the shield and the surcoat. These charges (three lozenges) were borne (with the tinctures reversed) by the barons of Stockport and the Baggaleghs or Baguleys, lords of Baguley, the similarity of the coats being accounted for by the fact that both families are believed from circumstances of tenure to have held by inheritance from Hamon de Massey, Baron of Dunham, and ancestor of Hamon, founder of the priory of Birkenhead, one of the Norman adventurers who received as a reward for the services he had rendered liberal grants of land in Cheshire and Durham; as, in like manner, the same arms, differenced by a chevron, were borne by the Masseys, of Sale, descended from the barons of Dunham, and a similar coat, also differenced by a chevron, was adopted by the Hydes, who inherited from the Baguleys through the female line.

The effigy under notice would appear to be that of Sir William Baggalegh, son of Ralph Baggalegh, of Baggalegh (or Baguley, according to the modern orthography). In a volume of Randle Holme's Cheshire Church Notes (Harl. MSS. 2,151), taken *c.* 1633, there is, in the account of the monuments and other matters of interest in Bowdon Church,

a rude drawing of the effigy with the following notes: "In the body of the church (Bowdon), in the south side, this monument cut in freestone for Sir Will. Baguley, Kt," and "in the head of the south ile in old glasse, very aunciente, this coate," *i.e.* on a shield or, three lozenges, two and one, azure. Ormerod (original edition) speaks of the effigy as being no longer existing when his *History of Cheshire* was written, nor any trace of it known, so that it must have disappeared very early in the present century, if not before. In Sir Peter Leycester's *Cheshire Antiquities* it is stated that "Sir William Baggiley was lord of Baggiley, 13 Edward II. (1319-20), and John Baggiley, his son, made a feofment of the mannor of Baggiley in Cheshire, and of his mannors of Hyde and Levenshulme in Lancashire, unto Sir John Legh, of Booths, nigh Knotsford, covenanting that Sir John shall settle them on the said John Baggiley and the heirs males of his body; and for default of such, then to settle the mannor of Hyde on Sir John Hyde and his heirs; and to settle the mannors of Baggiley and Leveshulme upon William, John, and Geffrey, sons of the said Sir John Legh, and to the heirs males of their bodies, in order one after another; the remainder to Thomas, son of Richard Massy; then to John, son of Robert Legh; then to William, son of Piers Legh; then to Robert, son of Robert Massy, of Kelsall (Lib. C. fol. 270a)." There is no date to the deed, from which it may be presumed that it was executed before the passing of the statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 Edward I. (1290), after which the date was usually appended, but Sir John Legh did settle the manors accordingly. In addition to the John Baggaley named in this deed of feofment, Sir William had another son, named after himself, who was living 12 Edward II. (1318-19), but is not named by Leycester, and who may probably have died s.p.; John Baggiley certainly died issueless, *c.* 1356, when his two sisters, Ellen

and Isabel, became his co-heirs. The first named (incorrectly called Isabel in Ormerod's pedigrees) married Sir John Legh, of Booths, elder brother of Robert, from whom descend the Leghs, of Adlington and Lyme; the younger co-heir, Isabel, was second wife of John Hyde, of Hyde and Norbury, whose descendants used the heraldic coat of Baguley, inverting the tinctures and adding a chevron.

In connection with the descendants of the elder co-heiress, the Leghs of Baguley, it may be mentioned that there is in the *Percy Reliques* (vol. ii.) an account of a poet of the lineage, if not the then actual representative of the family. This poem, entitled "Scottish Fielde, in Two Fittes," was extant in a folio MS., and the author seems from his use of the pronoun "we" to have been present at the battle which he celebrates:—

> Then we tilde downe our tents
> That told were a thousand.

In the conclusion of the poem the writer gives the following account of himself, the alliterative ingenuity of which was evidently more regarded than rhythm or the other graces of poësy, to say nothing of historic accuracy, for the "yearding" or inhabiting of Baguley by either the Leghs or the Baggaleghs did not begin until long after the Conquest:—

> He was a gentleman by Jesu
> That this gest made:
> Which say but as he sayd,
> For sooth, and noe other
> At Bagiley that bearne
> His biding place had
> And his ancestors of olde time
> Have yearded there longe,
> Before William Conquerour
> This country did inhabitt
> Jesus bringe them to blisse,
> That brought us forth of bale
> That hath hearkned me here,
> Or heard my tale.

This interesting memorial of a Cheshire notability and the representative of an ancient house, has experienced some strange vicissitudes. After remaining in the church at Bowdon for well nigh five centuries, where, however, at some time or other it had been subjected to rough usage at the hands, probably, of some fanatical iconoclast, it was ignominiously cast aside by those whose duty it was to have preserved it from further injury, and for a time its history, and even the place it came from, was forgotten. Fortunately the attention of the late Mr. Thomas William Tatton, of Wythenshawe, having been called to its existence, he caused it to be removed and placed for better preservation in the great hall of the house in which the Baggaleghs had so "longe yearded," though it would have found a more fitting resting place in the church in which it was originally fixed, and from which it ought never to have been permitted to be removed.

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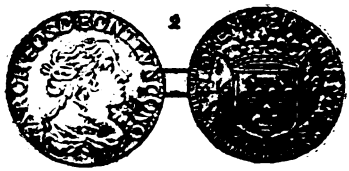

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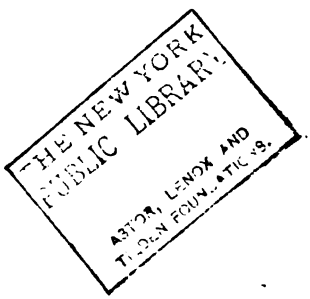
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GROUPS OF COINS WITH A HISTORY.

BY WILLIAM S. CHURCHILL.

I AM quite conscious to myself that the title of this paper conveys but little idea of what it is intended to describe. It would doubtless have been better had I given in as its subject a short account of some coins or types that have attained a remarkable degree of popularity; this, in fact, is all that I venture to aim at, and out of the many instances available for selection, I propose to take an example from French annals and another from the Austrian. The one I take first is almost well nigh forgotten, whilst the second example is still in full vigour of life and activity at the present moment.

The past history of the French coinage presents remarkable contrasts to that of England. Contemporaneous with the issues from the numerous royal mints, the more illustrious of the seigneurial houses also exercised the right to coin money. It will be remembered that almost up to the beginning of the sixteenth century some considerable portions of what is now called France were quite independent of French monarchs. Brittany, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Navarre, and Lorraine all had their own separate issues of money. The existence of these different coinages side by side might be one reason why, after the royal authority had been gradually extended in one way or another over the whole

extent of the country, that certain of the great nobles were still permitted to coin money, one of the conditions being the general conformity of their issues with those from the royal mints.

The most interesting of the whole series of such seigneurial coins is that of the principality of Dombes. This principality—which came into the possession of the noble house of Bourbon-Montpensier in the year 1560—is situate immediately to the north of the city of Lyons, measures twenty-four miles in length by about seven in breadth, and had for its capital the little town of Trevoux.

In 1608 the representative of the family was Marie, esteemed the richest heiress in France, and as such she was secured in marriage for Gaston, Duke of Orleans, the only brother of Louis XIII. From this royal alliance there was one child, the lady whose coins had so excessive though brief a popularity, and about which I will now further relate. Her name was Anna Maria Ludovica, sovereign princess of Dombes; from her birth and property she was the greatest lady in France, the only mortal who could claim cousinship with Louis XIV. Köhler, indeed, relates how her aunt, the queen, often said to her, "*vous seres ma Belle fille*," and that the morose Cardinal Richelieu was wont to chide her for the childish affection she showed for her little infant cousin. This of course was never more than idle talk, and our energetic princess being led to take a prominent part in the disputes of the Fronde, in opposition to the court, became an idol of the city of Paris, and did not scruple to order the cannon of the Bastille to be fired upon the royal army, so as to save the forces of the great Condé from being destroyed.

When the troubles were over, when a general pacification had been arranged and Cardinal Mazarin once more was restored to place and power, the fair culprit had to go away into banishment. After a brief interval she was permitted to

reside at her own capital of Trevoux, where she took great interest in the administration of her domains, and there sanctioned the issue of the coinage which became so famous.

Whilst still in early youth, both royal and noble suitors were not wanting who wished to ally themselves with her; but nothing came of the negotiations entered into on her behalf. Very possibly she was difficult of approach, and it was only later in life that she became passionately in love. Her favourite was the Count de Lauzun, a man of no distinguished origin, but he had attracted the notice of the king, who had made him a count. The king, her cousin, forbade the marriage as an unworthy alliance for his relative, and for divers reasons the bold and forward suitor had to pass the next ten years of his life in a fortress. The lady was constant, and in the end obtained the release of her lover by agreeing to give up the principality of Dombes to a favourite child of the king's. According to most authorities the marriage was then celebrated, though in a very private manner.

The little silver piece for which there arose such a demand was one-twelfth of an ecu or crown. Her name was placed upon it and her title as sovereign Princess of Dombes, together with a graceful presentment of her head and bust. Upon the reverse was a shield with the royal arms of three *fleur de lys*, and a label to mark the cadet house, the whole surmounted by a crown, the inscription being the usual Dombes motto, DOMINVS ADIVTOR ET REDEMTOR MEVS, slightly abbreviated (*fig.* 1).

This pretty little coin speedily met with such appreciation that the mint at Trevoux was kept at constant work to supply the demand for them. They were inquired for at the various ports of the Levant; from thence found their way throughout Syria even to Persia and Arabia. It soon became a custom for the young women in widely-distant

regions to wear them both as ornaments for the head and also upon their dress. Even men took a fancy to wear them in some fashion or other, and thus the quantity required soon became difficult to supply. The owners of other mints became envious of such sudden prosperity, and were desirous of sharing in the profits to be obtained.

The authorities of the little principality of Orange, near Avignon, were early in the field, and issued a beautiful specimen of the favourite size of coin. It had the name of the young prince, then ten years old, afterwards our William III., and bore upon it a shield with the French arms :

GVIL HNR DG PRI AV
SOLI DEO HONOR ET GLO 1660 (*fig.* 4).

The childish face here shown does not remind us of the well-known countenance so familiar to us afterwards.

A Marquis and Marchioness of Fosdinovo, upon the Italian border, also began to issue coins very much resembling those of Dombes, with the head of "Mademoiselle" and the French arms and label. They, however, used their own names and invented fancy mottoes :

MARCH FOS D BONIT VNC QN Q
INTER SPINAS CERVLEA FLORENT 1669 (*fig.* 2).

A Princess Doria, of the name of Violanta Lomellini, coined such pieces at her chateau of Torriglia, giving her own names and arms. The latter consisted of three eagles so displayed as strongly to resemble the French lilies. The scrupulous princess was careful not to imitate the Dombes coin too closely :

VIOLANTA LOM PRIN AV
DEVS PROTECTOR MEVS 1665 (*fig.* 3).

However, as her son grew up the further coinage of such pieces was carried in his name, Jean Andre Doria III., and finding that her mint authorities were imitating closely the

coins of the young Prince of Orange, her conscience took alarm and she consulted her spiritual advisers on the subject. These, less timorous than herself, were able to prove that her conscience was needlessly disturbed:

IO AND FR DORIA LA
DEVS PROTECTOR MEVS

Head of Doria to right, with shield displaying three eagles imitating lilies. After the death of the princess her son continued the profitable occupation at his mint at Loano.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany, Ferdinand II., condescended to issue a coin of this type, bearing his own name and likeness, with the French lilies within a circle placed on the shield:

FERDINAND · II · MA · D · E ·
SOLI DEO VIR HON ET G 1662* (*fig.* 5).

The following bear no direct trace of origin, but indicate vaguely the countries where they were in demand:

DE PROCVL PRÆTIVM EIVS
TRAHIT SVA QVEMQVE VOLVPTAS 1668

PARTES VOLVPTATI
ORIENTALIVM DICAT 1668

HANC ASIA MERCEM QVERIT
LILIA SPINAS QVIS DICET

Other varieties specify value:

PVLCHRA VIRTVTIS IMAGO
BONITATIS VNCIARVM SEX

and there are further instances of a goodness in ounces of QVATVOR and QVINQVE.

Together with the wish to take part in so profitable a pursuit came also the eager desire to realise all the advantage possible; so, as we have already seen, the standard of

* Date of 1662 retrograde.

value was gradually lowered, and in some cases the coins were simply of copper whitened over by a coating of silver. The traffic in these coins from their first origin at Trevoux had rapidly attained large dimensions, which again was largely increased as other mints began to strike them. Chardin, the celebrated traveller, who spent many years in Persia, speaks of this demand as purely for the silver coin, and adds that it only lasted for thirteen years, the piece being taken first at ten sols, then at seven and a half, but which gradually declined to four.

The English were accused of decrying these coins, because so long as the speculation in them continued the prices of silk rapidly advanced, and in the end a stop was put to all business. The trade in these coins almost suddenly came to an end, so that all engaged in this traffic had to suffer enormous losses.

The question remains: What was the reason for such a demand? To this we cannot help being of the opinion it arose in some degree from the unique character and position of the illustrious lady herself whose "*pulchra imago*" was at first portrayed upon such coin.

Madame de Sevigné writes to her dearest friend: "M. de Lauzun is to marry on Sunday, with the king's permission, Mademoiselle . . . Mademoiselle de . . . guess the name! he is to marry Mademoiselle . . . my word! upon my word! my sacred word! Mademoiselle! the great Mademoiselle! Mademoiselle, daughter of the late Monsieur! Mademoiselle, grand daughter of Henry IV.! Mademoiselle d'Eu! Mademoiselle de Dombes! Mademoiselle de Montpensier! Mademoiselle d'Orleans! Mademoiselle, cousin german to the king!" So the good marchioness runs on with her budget of news, which, as we already know, did not prove correct at that time.

Another supposition is that the rarity of the female head

upon coins of French origin, and, indeed, upon coins at all, was the attraction. This we may take as the most likely reason for the Eastern demand. Amongst Oriental nations, upon whose coinage at that time nothing feminine could find a place, the graceful head upon the coin of the infidel would be a novelty. There might be a growing impression of French power, as shown by their armaments in the Mediterranean, but this could not of itself raise up suddenly the great and fantastic trade we have described; only the transcendent power of fashion could effect so curious and singular a result.

I now propose to mention to you another instance of favouritism attaching, in a very signal manner, to a coin or set of coins. This is taken from Austrian annals, and relates to certain thalers struck by the Empress-Queen Maria Theresa. As in the preceding instance, the effect of a gracious personality adorning high rank was soon shown in the demand for the large thalers that she issued in the early part of her reign for her Hungarian dominions. The sympathy that was excited by her unprotected position, immediately upon the death of her father, the Emperor Charles VI., was further increased by her spirited and courageous struggle against the mighty enemies arrayed against her. We learn that where it was possible, her own subjects, both civilised and barbarous alike, rose as one man in her defence. Distant England thought it worth while to venture both money and men, and our George II., for her cause, exposed his sacred person upon the battlefield of Dettingen.

Maria Theresa at this critical period of her life was at the very height of her womanly beauty, being tall and graceful, with fair, regular features, ever ready to light up in sympathy with those around her. She was an enthusiast in love and friendship; whomsoever she loved, her whole heart was theirs. An eye-witness reports that after her hasty flight

from Vienna, when she appeared at Presburg to receive the homage of her Hungarian subjects, the exertion and warmth of the day during the solemnity had suffused her with a colour of surpassing brilliancy, so that, with her long golden locks falling over her shoulders, she looked like some fairy being. Her spirited speech dispelled the remembrance of long years of civil war, and the enthusiasm of the proud Magyars, whose allegiance until then had been so reluctant, broke out with all the fervour of unbounded admiration.

The interest in such a remarkable personality would naturally extend far and wide; amongst her neighbours, the Turks, there was a great desire for those coins on which her beautiful head was portrayed, and the merchants on all hands discovered that traffic was made all the easier as they were provided with supplies of so attractive a medium (*fig.* 6).

In all the mints of her empire, from Vienna to those in Bohemia, Hungary, Tyrol, and Transylvania, the various artists engaged all strove to render the lineaments of their beloved ruler as faithfully as they were able (*fig.* 7, 8).

As the effects of advancing age became visible upon her features, so fresh designs were put forth. When the Emperor Francis, her husband, died, in 1765, the veil suitable to her widowed condition at once appeared upon her coins. The thaler of 1780 (*fig.* 9), however, is the one for which there has been such a wonderful and unexampled demand; it proved to be the last one issued, as the Empress died before the end of the year. The portrait on the coin is again changed; the look of the face is now older; the stately, massive features give the idea of a wise and benevolent ruler; the veil of her widowhood is pushed more to the back of the head, and the coronet is further diminished. The inscription remains the same, as also the words placed on the edge or rim—IVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA.

It remains a difficult matter to account for the steady increase in the demand for this coin of the Vienna mint. It must be remembered that Austria and her near-lying territories had literally no direct foreign trade away from her boundaries, and but for the river Danube the immediate trade must have been small. Her only port of Trieste was without good roads to the interior. The beneficent Empress endeavoured to increase its trade by making it a free port; for Austria at that time had neither ships for trade or for war.

The navy that had been created by Emperor Charles VI., following the advice of Prince Eugene, scarcely amounted to half a score vessels of war, and after the death of this great captain were offered for sale in vain to the Venetians. At length, in 1758, during the seven years war, all the larger vessels and the equipment of the arsenal of Trieste, with all its stores, were sold at a ridiculously low price; and it was not until 1815 that a new organisation of the Austrian navy was thought of. Thus the only considerable channel for such a demand must have been through the Venetians. These far-seeing merchants still enjoyed a large portion of the trade to the Mediterranean ports, and the ramifications of their commerce extended to the heart of Asia and even to the central kingdoms of Africa. We find previously to the year 1757, a decree of the Great Council in Venice was issued declaring that as the thalers of the Empress-queen were being much enquired for in Dalmatia, in many Levantine ports, and throughout the Ottoman territories, it was highly expedient that a change be made in the coinage of their own large silver pieces. So, with a view better to compete with the attractive novelty of such a candidate for popular favour, it was decided that the issues of the large scudi del croce should be reserved for home use, and upon the new pieces should still be shown the lion of St. Mark, but that there should be also à "majestic face," with suitable

adornments, to serve as a fitting representation of the "RESPVBLICA VENETA." This was accordingly done, and in 1757 these new pieces appeared. A further alteration in the design was made in 1767, and this continued in use without further change (*fig.* 10, 11).

Even the little Republic of Ragusa, situate in its convenient harbour on the lower shores of the Adriatic, was probably moved by the example of its domineering rival, and from an early thaler of the Empress-queen took what it considered a fitting emblem of their republic. So on their ducato or tallero the venerable figure of Saint Blaise or the Rector of the Council alike disappear, and a graceful female head takes their place (*fig.* 12, 13).

It is quite clear that the commencement of the demand that has been so extensive arose from the favour that the earlier thalers of the Empress-queen met with. It must not be forgotten that their acceptability was facilitated by their uniform quality. There was a certain amount of alloy present in her coins, and in that respect they were inferior to the Dutch, English, French, and Hanoverian; but during the many wars in which she was engaged, and whatever the difficulties for want of money she had to contend with, the fineness of the coin was kept up, and they compared advantageously with the Venetian and Ragusa pieces both in quality and finish.

The coinage of the Venetian talleri came to an end with the destruction of the republic, by General Buonaparte, in 1797, and a few years afterwards Ragusa lost its separate existence at the hands of the same conqueror, and since that time the beautiful piece of 1780, known as the Levant thaler, has had no rival. The coinage of them has not been allowed to cease, but as they have been required they have been supplied, and this demand, from various circumstances, has been quite unexampled; for instance, it was ascertained

that the English expedition against King Theodore, of Abyssinia, in 1867-8, would have to be provided with ample supplies of this medium of exchange, for that no other would be freely accepted. The mint of Vienna was set to work for us, and our army was able thus to pay for their supplies. The demand for them is still kept up, and from the reports of our Master of the mint, who, since the year 1881, has also begun to specify the work done by foreign mints, we learn that there were struck in

1881 -	160,461	Maria Theresa thalers, with date of 1780.		
1882 -	81,998	„	„	„
1883 -	308,334	„	„	„
1884 -	1,477,862	„	„	„
1885 -	1,386,891	„	„	„

After this we are not surprised to learn from Herr Gerhard Rohlfs, the celebrated German traveller, in his book of travels published in 1874, "That at Kuka, in Bornu, near Lake Tchad, all the large silver money consists of the Maria Theresa thalers of the date 1780." He also adds "that the same thing obtains throughout the whole of Central Africa from the extreme west to the Red Sea. The small money consists of Kawri shells brought from the Eastern Archipelago, and the thaler varies in value from three thousand to four thousand of these shells, according to the rate of exchange."

It is very singular that from this illustrious lady has been taken the earliest modern instance of a female head serving as a suitable emblem for a corporate state. We may even say that in it we see the forerunner of a whole tribe of followers from the revolutionary governments of France and Italy down to the smallest of republics of Central America of to-day. It may be the coins of revolutionary France were taken from Grecian designs, but the Venetian example was before them, and the fact remains that this

long-descended patrician Respublica Veneta was the first to adopt a "majestic face" as its emblem, and that it was avowedly begun in rivalry with the head of the benevolent, autocratic Maria Theresa.

One more word before closing this paper, and that one of sincere acknowledgment and obligation. To the great work of M. Poey D'Avant, upon the Seigneurial Coins of France, I am indebted for all the information relative to the coins of Dombes; but it is in the second edition that the learned author has been able to treat the subject of these coins and their interesting competitors in a fuller and more satisfactory manner than in the first. To my friend Mr. S. Smith, jun., of Liverpool, I am obliged for my knowledge of Signor Padovan's treatise on the Venetian coinage, and to his kindness I owe the translation of the documents now printed as an appendix.

APPENDIX.

The following documents are selected from the work of Signor Vincenzo Padovan upon the Venetian Coinage, and are interesting as showing the nature of the considerations that induced the Venetian Senate to make so great a change in their coinage at this time:—

Tallero by the Mill and Screw—First Type.

The Senate, by the following consultation, charges the superintendents of the mint to consider the proposed design for a new and large silver coin for their own provinces of Dalmatia and the Levant.

1753. *10th of January, at the Sitting of the Senate.*

The inquisitors, the chief of the purveyors to the mint, are charged to assemble in conference with the deputies and assistants for the provision of the silver, to take into consideration if it would be for the public advantage and dignity to

prepare a design of a noble coin of silver for the use of Dalmatia and the Levant, keeping in mind specially to fix it in goodness, design, and weight, that it may prove acceptable also for the commerce of the Ottoman countries in rivalry with the dollars of the Queen, the whole to be referred to public deliberation.

To the Senate. The Directors, in answer, informing them of the Result of their Deliberations, and proposing a Tallero by the Mill and Screw of the First Type.

To the most Serene Prince (the reigning Doge, Francesco Lauredano),—The most Excellent Senate, by its decree of 10th of January, 1753, commanded that we should assemble our purveyors to the mint, inquisitor over gold and coins, deputies, and assistants for the provision of silver, with charge to take into consideration if it would be for the public advantage and dignity to prepare a design of a noble coin of silver for the use of Dalmatia and the Levant; to consider particularly the duty of fixing it in goodness, weight, and design, that it may prove acceptable for the commerce of the Ottoman countries.

That being the question, the conference considered whether it would be possible to make, by way of experiment, a design of a Venetian tallero by the screw press of the fineness 190 and the weight of 138 carats, with its divisions, for circulation in the Ottoman countries, with the hope of a good result.

Date of the conference above mentioned, 3rd March, 1755.

And the Senate accepted the proposition, adding to it some instructions.

1755. *13th March, in the Senate.*

For carrying out the proposed experiment, permission is given from this council to the inquisitor over gold and money, together with the experienced cashier for the time being, and with concurrence as far as is necessary of the chief of the providers to the mint, to take all necessary measures for the work of such a money by the screw press. They will give careful study and diligence, especially that the money may be in the best style, by the use of the screw press, the fortune of a new money depending much upon the beauty and perfection of the design.

To this end, if they cannot rely upon the capacity and diligence of the authorities of the mint, in such work it is agreed to allow them to procure some person expert in the business, even from foreign mints, who may direct the work and at the same time may instruct our own workmen.

They will cause to be made various designs for the impressions upon the said money, in order to choose the best.

It was definitively decreed to strike the money according to the instructions and determination following, and the cashier and inquisitor write:—

To the most Serene Prince,—Whilst it accords with our obedience, without loss of time in arranging everything necessary for the fabrication of the money by the screw press commanded by the Levant, we believe it to be our duty to present in the annexed folio to your Serenity and to your Excellencies the design of that die which more than all other it appears convenient to impress upon the money above named, to await the result of your most wise deliberations.

We had two things in view in the choosing of this design: One was to produce the money but little filled up with the figure, so that a larger space would remain for that smooth and bright ground which, by the effect of the screw press, becomes more brilliant and resplendent and forms the greater beauty of the coin. The other was to make it with some resemblance to the thalers of the Queen; since this, indeed, by the quality of the design, is known to be most acceptable to the Turks. The design of the thaler consists on the one side of the single representation of the Empress-Queen in half bust, with the simple legend of her name. The other side has the imperial eagle, upon which are the arms of the said Empress, surrounded with the names of those of her states where the money is coined, together with the year of its issue.

In a similar manner your Excellencies will observe our new coin bears on one side a well-drawn likeness signifying the Republic, with the simple inscription RESPUBLICA VENETA, and the reverse a winged lion (with the book) rampant, which are the only arms in use by the Republic, as a symbol of Saint Mark, its protector, and round it the most respectable name of the most Serene Prince, and finally the current year.

With such simplicity and nobleness of design is the one communicated by us to the two most excellent magistrates, who unitedly with us in another conference suggest to the most excellent Senate that of the new stamps this is the most deserving of their approbation, and it shall be our care that it may perfectly succeed. We hope nothing may be wanting to the beauty of the new coin, so that it may acquire not less reputation and course than the Austrian thaler, and in consequence all the objects may be attained for which it was decreed by your Serenity.

In the meantime we shall continue to push forward the work as much as possible; to which end, as also for the greater public saving, there being necessary for the construction of the machines a no small quantity of old iron and bronze of good quality, as also some steel from old and useless weapons, and a large quantity of wood, we believe it to be suitable that the most excellent Senate should issue its own revered commission to the most excellent governor of the arsenal and the most excellent chief of the artillery that of such things they should supply, at the request of me the inquisitor over gold, that which may be necessary, whilst it will be our earnest duty to procure in all the branches what is best for the public service—Thanks.

Given at the conference of the experienced cashier and the inquisitor over gold and money.

ANDREA TRON, Cashier.
PIERO BARBARIGO, Inquisitor.

1755. 31*st May, in the Senate.*

In the unrelaxed endeavours of the experienced cashier, of his colleague the inquisitor over gold and money, to carry into effect the coinage already decreed of the money by the screw press for the Levant, we hand to this council, annexed to their approved and well-deserving application for materials, the design of the die which they consider advisable to adopt, setting forth likewise what materials may be necessary for the construction of the machine serving for this coinage.

Therefore this same council, agreeing to the opinions of the said conference, approves by its authority the design exhibited and orders its execution, charging at the same time the governor of the arsenal and chief of the artillery, in good agreement with the inquisitor above named, to supply him as far as it falls to each one, for the construction of the said machine, with the necessary quantity of old iron and bronze of good quality, a certain amount of steel from the old and useless weapons, and a large quantity of wood.

Provided with what is necessary for the said coinage, the Senate is very sure that the conference will not cease to use the greatest solicitude to make it succeed, which will be recognised as a merit to it.

A copy of this present is to be given, as far as regards them, to the governor of the arsenal, the chief of the artillery to act in accordance.

GIUSEPPE IMBERLI, Secretary.

Observation by the Author, V. Padovan.

This is the first time that the phrase screw press is used. Nevertheless in this connection the following decree of the Council of Ten, already published by Lazari, requires consideration, where is noticed a certain method which produces the coins of a wonderful regularity, beauty, and roundness—all desirable qualities unattainable by the usual hammer; and certainly the quattrino in two metals, coined under Leon Lauredano, was not produced by the usual hammer, nor certain other pieces of the same time.

(1500) *M. D. 28th of March, with Addition.*

The curious and ingenious way discovered by the great industry and diligence of our faithful John the clockmaker, in making and striking soldi and half soldi with such uniformity, exactness, and roundness as each one has seen, and as the custodian of our mint and also the heads of the coining department have testified, besides others who have seen his work and mode of working, which all admire.

Therefore our signory wishes that he may persevere in accordance with this good beginning, not only in the soldi and half soldi aforesaid, but also in all other kinds of coins, and even the ducats; as he has offered to find means with every smoothness, perfect roundness, and weight, so that our coins, which excel all others in goodness, may also excel in beauty, a thing which is certainly to be wished for the honour of our signory, and to put an end to all modes of clipping the said coins, which indeed cannot be even touched without being immediately known. Therefore—

Let it go as a decree, by authority of this council, the said Juan of the clockmakers shall be conducted into our mint, with a salary of six ducats the month for his person with one of his family, with the duty to make and arrange all the machines and instruments needed to make not only the said soldi and half soldi, but also marcelli and coins of XX soldi, also other needful coins and ducats as he may from time to time be ordered.

The said Juan likewise shall superintend and teach the work of his said machines to certain workmen chosen by the heads of the council, who may be most apt for the work, and at same time work himself whilst superintending; and

the said Juan shall be provided with a convenient work place, iron and other materials to make the said instruments and coins inscribed as may be required; and for his trouble and for the instruments so far made by him he shall be given by the heads of this council XXV or XXX ducats.

And from now his undertaking is that the said soldi shall be made for the present, for account of our signory expenses, not to exceed XX soldi the mark, until having made a sum of CCC or CCCC marks we may see if the affair turns out useful or not, and then it shall be reconsidered by our signory with the heads of this council so far as appears needful and useful for our signory; and the chiefs of this council and the chancellor are bound to push forward with all diligence the work of the said soldi and half soldi and other money as above.

Tallero — Second Type.

The inquisitor over the gold and money, Giulio Contarini, united in conference with the deputies and assistants for the provision of silver and with the purveyors to the mint, in accordance wtth an order of the Senate, 18th December, 1766, for the purpose of regulating the coinage of the Venetian tallero, makes the following proposal :—

Most Serene Prince,—More interesting and important rules for regulation could not be prescribed by the authority of the most excellent Senate, to aid the extensive coinage and currency of the Venetian tallero, than those set forth in its decree of 18th December, 1766, which was given in charge of the inquisitor over gold and money, to be submitted after the required consideration to the skill and examination of the most excellent magistrates, also of the deputies and assistants for the provision of silver, and of the purveyors to the mint united in conference. The first object of my obedience during the period of about three months, since the most excellent Senate charged me with this office of inquisitor, was the attention to the said rules; nor have I given less diligent attention and thought to the adaptation to the form of the die of that elegance which depends on the understanding of the design, of die cutting, and of the stamping.

As for the machine serviceable for the stamping, I hope that your Serenity will be fully satisfied by the direction of the celebrated engineer Bartolo Feracini; for the die making I find good hope of success in the skill of the chief engraver Scobel; and as to the design, I have studied with the best designers to remove the defects observed in the present types.

Whilst I feel confident that the new talleri will turn out neater because their alloy will be that of the pieces of Spain, *i.e.*, of pure copper, that they will be made apter to take the impression of the figures on each side because their edges will have to be more raised than the edges of the present, I have not dared to choose one only design, nor to do away with the figure of the lion—ancient emblem of the royal grandeur of this republic.

Two designs were brought to me, which, in my humble opinion, representing the figures and lineaments somewhat more fitly than the present design, I have thought it my duty to present for the better choice of the intelligent expert subjects appointed for the actually commanded conference.

Both will be of equal circumference to that of the Queen. Both are to have on the edge the words JUSTITIA ET PAX,* and each will represent on the obverse the figure of the Republic with majestic face, with the royal robe of ermine, and with the words "RESPUBLICA VENETA."

The variety of the designs consists in the figures on the reverse; on each are to be the words of the name of the most serene reigning Doge, and at same time the date of the year of coinage.

Both the designs represent the winged lion, with the crown upon the head, but one with the book of the gospel open on the breast. Similar figure of the lion is contained in the second design, substituting, however, for the book, a shield and a branch of olive.

If we do not know any reasonable motive for hesitating to offer the sentiments of our complete conviction to the authority of the most excellent Senate, the plan of economy and discipline above expressed by the successive labour and affair of the Venetian tallero, we do not find opposing arguments, for each of them appears to us delineated with masterly elegance, and the symbols to be of a description not repugnant to political considerations. But we would humbly point out that the lion bearing upon the breast the book of the gospel is the coat of arms peculiar to the Republic, shown also on the Venetian ducats accepted in external Ottoman commerce.

Such rules having been observed by the conference with regard to the figures on the coin, and having kept the quality and the quantity of real silver in higher grade than the thalers struck in other mints, we consider it our duty to present to the public wisdom both the designs, so that from its mature authorisation may result the most innocent in the symbols and in the expression.

The inquisitors over gold and money submitting themselves as well for the execution of the plan as also for that of the design, and our purveyors to the mint and deputies and assistants for the provision of silver to the All Sovereign deliberation.

At the Conference, the 28th January, 1767.

The experiments having been carried out with this intention, it was finally decided that the first design should be the one to be carried out.

Establishment of the Screw Press for the Venetian Mint.

It is known that the process of producing money made great progress from the middle of the seventeenth century. In 1645, at first in France, then soon after in England and elsewhere, the hammer was abolished and supplanted by the press, and finally by the screw press.

The Republic of Venice, rooted in this respect tenaciously to old custom, for a hundred years was almost the only state to preserve it. Nevertheless the needs of its commerce and the preference which the Levantines accorded to the money termed thalers of the queen, with the bust of Maria Theresa, induced it to alter its course and to keep pace with the other civilised states. It procured

* On the outside edge of the Austrian thalers were the words JVSTITIA ET CLEMENTIA.

first of all from London, by means of its own ambassador, the description of the machines; these were provided after January, 1754, to a prepared arrangement. However, having workmen badly disposed if not opposed to the novelty, and but little instructed in the knowledge necessary to carry out their intention, it requested in June of the following year, through the mediation of the Duke of Montealegre, the Spanish ambassador from Don Philip the Infant of Parma, and obtained liberally without delay to have in its own mint for a time Michael du Bois, director of his mint, and very skilful in new undertakings.* According to certain arrangements with regard to his pay and the employment of suitable men, materials, and fittings, he was established in Venice during July, 1755. He remained seventeen months, and in the course of this time, thanks to his zeal and to his special ability, the tallero for the Levant was produced.

Struck in the same way was issued in 1770 the ninth osella of Francesco Loredano, that represents the clock tower on our piazza restored from its ruined condition and which during this year was finished by Angelo Camerata.

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* *Note by Vincenzo Padovan.*—The Prince of Parma not only accorded him the person of Du Bois, but also the tools from his mint (made in France), on the model of which it would be easy for the Venetian artificers to construct others like them.

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WYCOLLER HALL AND FOOT-BRIDGE.

WYCOLLER HALL.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL C. H. OWEN.

IN a sequestered valley at the foot of the moors, and about three and a half miles from the small manufacturing town of Colne, in Lancashire, one of the most picturesque villages in England is to be found; and at the further end of the village are the remains of the hall, a good specimen of the residence of a squire of the olden time.

This hall was for generations the home of an old English family, the Cunliffes, who obtained it by marriage with another old Lancashire family, the Hartleys of Winewall, a small village between Wycoller and Colne. It is a curious circumstance that the hall, having been lost to the Cunliffes through the extravagance of the last owner of that family, has, with some land adjoining it, been recently purchased by Mr. Richard Hartley, a descendant in all probability of the Hartleys who originally owned the estate. Wycoller Hall was inhabited until the death of Mr. H. O. Cunliffe, in 1818, when his wife and niece, who had lived there with him, were obliged to leave, being unable to afford to keep up the necessary establishment.

Mr. Henry Owen Cunliffe, the last squire, spent a great deal of money on the place, modernising part of the hall, increasing the stabling, and making large gardens. On his death, the Rev. John Oldham, the husband of his wife's

sister, having a mortgage on the hall and part of the adjoining property, foreclosed, and the house and grounds appear to have been allowed to fall into a ruinous state; but enough is left to show the character of the building, and the grand old fireplace is still intact.

The town of Colne lies on the line of railway between Manchester and Skipton, and possesses no building of any particular interest except the church and an old inn. There are a couple of modern inns or small hotels, in one of which—the "Crown," close to the railway station—plain but good accommodation can be obtained, and a carriage hired, if one does not care to walk over to Wycoller and back.

The road from the station leads uphill to the main street, the houses in which, with the exception of a few recently built by manufacturers, look mean and dirty, but most of them are substantially built of stone; the inhabitants have generally the squalid look of factory hands. There is, however, at the top of the hill a fine old church, in which the last Cunliffe who lived at Wycoller was buried on the 14th of November, 1818. A brass plate with the following inscription is placed in the church:—"Here lies the body of Henry Owen Cunliffe of Wycoller Hall. Died 8th Nov. 1818. Aged 66." A hatchment with the Cunliffe arms hangs on the wall of the chancel on the north side.

Near the church is an old inn, the Derby Arms, having a solid two-storied stone porch projecting from the front of the house, the entrance door being at the side of the porch. This inn is a good specimen of the architecture formerly used in this part of the country for the more substantial kind of houses. Other examples may be seen at Winewall and Wycoller. These stone porches afford shade and shelter, and add greatly to the appearance of a house, casting deep shadows and breaking the otherwise flat look of the front.

On clearing the town, the road to Wycoller turns off to

the right down a very steep hill, and then, ascending another still steeper hill, the village of Winewall is reached. This place was formerly of some importance; the houses and cottages are of stone; some have projecting porches and are picturesque, but the road through the village is very rough, and would generally be considered only fit for carts. After leaving this village and turning to the left, a rough road having deep ruts in it leads gradually down to Wycoller. beyond and above which the moors forming part of the old Forest of Trawden are seen; the intervening country is hilly and bare, and divided into small fields of grass by stone fences nearly black in colour, reminding one of Ireland, in many parts of which the country has much the same appearance.

The village of Wycoller is very picturesque, and would supply some excellent subjects for painting, there being many suitable combinations of quaint old houses, small bridges, groups of trees, and a clear stream of water running over a stony bed, with hills for a distance. The houses are of stone; that occupied by Mr. Hartley, and one or two others, have projecting stone porches, and rooms of good size. The small river, called the Wycolder, winds through the place, and is spanned by three stone bridges. The first bridge has one arch, the second two, and the third consists merely of two huge blocks of stone, supported on other large rough stones resting in the bed of the river. The bridge with two arches is (in 1884) in a very dilapidated state, the keystone of one of the arches having dropped. In driving through the village the bridges are ignored, and the stream is forded—an easy matter enough in summer, when the water is low. The last, called the Hall Bridge, is only fit for foot passengers, and is opposite to the entrance gate of the hall. There are some groups of fine trees in the village, and the river banks beyond are lined with trees on both sides,

some overhanging the stream, the water of which is very clear, as it runs over stones and small rocks. There was formerly a thriving population of three hundred or four hundred people, mostly engaged in hand-loom weaving; but the general adoption of machinery ruined the trade, and there are now only some sixty or seventy inhabitants in the place, and many unoccupied houses. It was said that the Cunliffes would not allow a public-house to be licensed in the village; and this would appear to have been the case, as no house of public entertainment is to be found in it.

Coming to the hall itself, enough of the exterior of the building remains to show that it must formerly have been a comfortable, picturesque, and somewhat imposing house for such an out-of-the-way place; but it has been unroofed, the glass has been taken out of the windows, and the doors, flooring, ceilings, and other woodwork removed; the ground in front and the stable-yard are in a neglected and overgrown condition. The removal of the fine porch has also sadly disfigured the front of the house. It is curious to find a house of such pretensions actually built against a row of small stone houses or cottages, making it what would be termed, in the language of modern builders, "semi-detached." It has a south aspect.

The porch, which has two stories, and projected from the front wall of the hall, was removed some years ago, and is now built against a shabby small factory in the village of Trawden, about two and a half miles from Wycoller. The doorway is now filled up by an unsightly window, and above is a bay window, which would formerly have been on the same floor as the story over the old hall. It is not an easy matter to find this porch, but those who care to see it will be able to do so by ascending the hill leading up to Trawden Church, and, when about half way, turning into the yard of a small factory on the right hand side of the road; once in

the yard, the porch is easily recognised by the similarity of its architecture to that of Wycoller Hall. The place must have been utterly neglected by Mr. Oldham to allow of such a barbarous removal. It is said that someone at Wycoller sold the porch, but it is not easy to understand the object of the purchaser, pulling it down, transporting, and building it up again in such an uncongenial spot.

The following extracts will give a few particulars respecting the hall, and an idea of the secluded lives spent by the Cunliffes at Wycoller for many generations:—"Wycoller Hall was built somewhere about 1550 and 1560, and is a spacious, well-built house of curious freestone, with the outer and partition walls a yard in thickness. The hall is an admirable specimen of Gothic architecture—the arch for the fireplaces, the cove behind, and stone bench round it, supported upon fields, being all of one piece, is considered as beautiful antique masonry, and in good preservation. It has the reputation of being the most ancient hall in this part of the country. It commands a good extent of land in domain, as well as good farms. Here the family has remained in quiet and retirement, content with the possessions Providence has allotted them, and seldom going out into the world; usually farming their own lands, and consuming the produce at home. Our ancestors have been fortunate in marrying good fortunes and heiresses, as well as in marrying their daughters with good houses, with fortunes of £300, £400, or even £500 a-piece, as we have vouchers to show." "That they were well respected is proved by their being so continually made guardians to the gentlemen's and yeomen's families in the neighbourhood. At Wycoller Hall they usually kept open house the twelve days at Christmas. Their entertainment was—a large hall of curious ashler work, a long table, plenty of furmenty, like new milk, in a morning, made of husked wheat. Boiled and roasted beef,

with a fat goose, and a pudding, with plenty of good beer for dinner. A roundabout fire, surrounded with stone benches, where the young folks sat and cracked nuts, and diverted themselves; and in this manner the sons and daughters got matching without going much from home."*

The older portion of the house had apparently only two stories; it contains the hall or guest chamber, which must have been a fine room although low. Its four mullioned windows in the outer or front wall are in a good state of preservation, as well as two similar windows over them for the rooms above the hall. The ceiling of the hall is gone, as also the roof above the upper rooms. At the west end of the room built out from the wall is the grand old fireplace, one of the best examples of the kind in the country, having stone benches round it inside, and a large wide chimney to take away the smoke from the wood fire placed in an iron grate in the middle of the hearth. This must have been a snug place in cold weather, especially to people who lived in times when warmth was preferred to fresh air in a room. In two recesses above the arch of the fireplace, one on each side, are two small stone shields, which had formerly the arms of the family painted on them.

The stone frame of the door leading from the hall into the porch is on one side of the fireplace, and a curious recess in the wall, partly circular in form, is on the other side. Behind the hall are the kitchens, which have been recently roofed over by Mr. Hartley, and serve to house a tenant. In the partition wall are two openings, apparently for doors, leading to the kitchen and back premises; they are circular at the top, with a rectangular moulding above, like the doorway

* From H. O. Cunliffe's MSS., which furnished the matter and pedigree in Gregson's *Fragments*, and from a letter of H. O. Cunliffe from Wycoller Hall, September 15th, 1816, to Mr. Matthew Gregson, of St. Ann Street, Liverpool.

leading into the porch. In the recesses above the arch of one of the doorways are two small shields having the date 1596 cut in them.

The modern portion of the house has three stories, in which were the drawing, sitting, and bed rooms; some very large stones are built into the masonry of the partition wall between the old and new parts of the house, but the floors, ceilings, and roof of the latter are, like those of the former, gone.

Beyond the hall is a large courtyard, bounded on the east side by a long building containing a large coach house, with a four-stalled stable at each end; the wooden partitions still remain. On the north side of the yard is another stable, with three stalls and a loose box. The stabling is ample for the size of the hall, much of it being doubtless added by the last squire, who was very fond of riding and driving. He must have been a good whip, as it is said that he thought little of driving four horses down a very steep and rough road leading from the moor above to the back of the hall—a road carters are not fond of descending in these degenerate days.

Beyond the stables were the gardens, the site of which, containing a pond and the foundations of a greenhouse, is easily recognised. These gardens adjoin the road, but on the opposite side the ground rises and was formerly covered with trees, most of which have been cut down.* In this wood was the cock-pit, the last squire being an enthusiastic lover of the sport of cock fighting. He encouraged the farmers to bring cocks to fight his own birds, the reward being half-a-crown if victorious, but when the farmer's cock was beaten, the owner got only the dead bird.

From the corner of the garden can be seen, on the edge

* The trees were cut down, and, like the porch, sold in Rev. John Oldham's time.

of the moor above, the huge boulders which go by the name of "Foster's Leap," from the feat performed by one of the Foster Cunliffes, who jumped from one to the other—a perilous deed; for not only is the jump a wide one, about nine feet, but should the performer not remain steady after landing, he would run the risk of falling over the edge of the stone, which is of considerable height, on to the rocks below. The road up the valley from Wycoller is rough but picturesque. The stream descends over a rocky bed, and crosses the road under a small bridge, the trees with the light green and golden foliage (in spring time) overhang the banks, which are covered with wild flowers and colts-foot leaves, and a rustic bridge formed by a single huge stone affords a footpath to the fields on the south side of the road. Foster Leap can be reached by walking across the fields from the garden, or by following the road up the valley just described, until under the Leap, when a path across a couple of fields leads up to Foster Leap Farm, and a stiffish climb up the moor beyond brings you to the masses of rock forming the Leap. From this point there is a magnificent view over the Colne valley to the great Pendle Hill some miles beyond it.

The latter descendants of the Cunliffes have branched off in various directions, and some of them have attained distinction in civil or military life. Sir Robert Cunliffe, of Acton Park, near Wrexham, the present representative of the family, descends from Ellis, a second son of John Cunliffe, who took part first on the Royal and afterwards on the Parliamentary side during the civil war in the time of Charles I. The pedigree of the Cunliffes is given in J. Foster's *Pedigree of County Families*, and it is, no doubt, in most respects correct; but on one point—that respecting the descendants of Elizabeth Cunliffe, the female representative of Nicholas, the eldest son of John Cunliffe—it is very

imperfect. The Christian name of the *Joseph* Owen, to whom Sarah Scargill, the daughter of Elizabeth, was married, is omitted, as well as the place and date of the marriage, which were Ecclesfield, near Sheffield, on the 2nd of January, 1746.

A romantic story is told respecting this latter marriage. The parents of Miss Scargill, being strongly opposed to her wish to marry Joseph Owen, she wrote a letter to him containing her address, but did not know how to get it conveyed to its destination, when an accident accomplished what she desired. She happened one day to be riding pillion behind her father, or a servant, and taking out her pocket handkerchief in crossing a stream, the letter dropped out of her pocket into the water; floating down the brook, it was picked up by Joseph Owen, who was fishing at some distance below, and must have been as much astonished as delighted on ascertaining the contents of the note.

The last squire, H. O. Cunliffe, who succeeded his uncle, Henry Cunliffe, at Wycoller, was the eldest son of Joseph Owen and Sarah Scargill, but as he died childless, and Captain Joseph Owen, of the 77th Regiment, the second son, never married, and was killed when leading a forlorn hope at the siege of Seringapatam, on the 4th of May, 1799, the descendants of *Charles*, the third son of Joseph Owen, now represent the elder branch of the Cunliffes through the female line.

It is much to be regretted that such an interesting specimen of an old English country house should have been allowed to sink into a ruin in so short a time.

FLIXTON AND ITS CHURCH.

BY DANIEL JOHN LEECH, M.D., F.R.C.P.

THE parish of Flixton, comprehending two thousand five hundred acres of land, is situated in the angle made by the rivers Irwell and Mersey which form respectively the eastern and southern sides. For at least seven hundred years it has been known by its present name, and though never associated with important events, national or local, its history is not devoid of interest, since some of the most notable families of the county have been connected with it. And for another reason an account of the place is worthy of record. Whilst the districts around have always been in the hands of large landed proprietors, the whole of Flixton continued till quite recently in comparatively small holdings, the farmers for the most part owning the land they cultivate. The cause of this difference in tenure has not hitherto been made clear, but an investigation into the history of the parish during the seventeenth century throws light upon it.

Of the period during which Celt, Roman, and Saxon successively possessed Flixton, only one memorial, so far as I know, remains, in the shape of a large stone celt, thirteen inches long by three and a quarter inches wide, which was found in some gravel near Shaw Hall, probably an old bed of the Mersey, by the late Mr. Charles Royle. It was

exhibited at a meeting of the Historic Society, in 1851, by R. H. Brackstone, Esq., of London (*Trans. Hist. Soc. Lanc. and Ches.*, iii. 113). After the Conquest, Roger de Poictou possessed for many years the lands between the Ribble and Mersey. Upon his banishment in 1101, William Peverill, an illegitimate son of William the Conqueror, succeeded to some of Roger's possessions, and he or Roger gave to Albert Grestel, Grelle, or Gresley a large tract of country in the hundred of Salford. In this gift a portion of Flixton was probably included, for it can be shown that shortly afterwards the Grelles possessed land there. The greater part of Lancashire, however, including a moiety of Flixton, and probably the lordship of the whole, passed to Stephen, Earl of Blois, and afterwards to Randle, sixth Earl of Chester, who, in 1229, had confirmation from Henry III. of all his lands lying between the Ribble and Mersey. Randle dying without issue, the same possessions passed to William, Earl of Ferrers and Derby, who married the Earl of Chester's sister.

The earliest mention made of Flixton is met with in the *Testa de Neville* or *Liber Feodorum*, two old books of records in the King's Remembrancer's Office of the Court of Exchequer, supposed to have been for the most part compiled by Ralph de Neville, an accountant of the exchequer and collector of aids in the reign of Henry III. Some of the records are as late as the times of Edward I. and Edward II., but those relating to Lancashire appear to have been written between 1200 and 1207. In the *Testa de Neville* we find the following statement: "Albert Gredle Senior gave to Orme son of Eward [Aylward] with his daughter Emma in marriage one carve of land in Eston by 10^{s} yearly; the heirs of Orme hold that land. The same Albert gave to Henry son of Siward one carve of land in Flixton by 10^{s} yearly: the heirs hold that land." The Albert who gave this land probably lived

in the time of Stephen and Henry II., between 1135 and 1166; and the Henry Siward to whom he gave land in Flixton is said by Harland to have been the father of Henry of Lathom. About fifty years later, Robert of Lathom gave Flixton Church to his newly-formed monastery of Burscough.

Between 1249 and 1252, William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, who, as before stated, acquired by his marriage possessions in South Lancashire, gave to David de Hultone his lands in Flixton, with the manor of Hordeshall; and half a century later (1303), Richard, son of David de Hulton, had a grant of free warren in his demesne lands of Hulton, Ordsall, Flixton, and Heaton (Harland's *Mamcestre*, ii. 238). In 1320, Richard Hilton (Hulton) and Richard Valentine appear as holding lands in Flixton (*Ibid.*, p. 344); and in 1354, Robert Legh, of the Booths, held a moiety of the manor of Flixton. In an inquisition *post mortem* of 1380 (*Lancashire Inquisitions, Chetham Society*, xcv. 8), it is found that Richard, son of John Radcliffe, held from the king three parts of a moiety of the town of Flixton, and from John de la Warr another fourth of the aforesaid town. In the same year the king (Richard II.) and John of Gaunt issued a mandate giving seizin of three parts of the manor of Flixton to John, son of Richard Radcliffe. At this date, then, the lands in Flixton, originally granted to Henry Fitz Siward and David de Hulton, seem to have been for the most part in the hands of the Radcliffes, a small portion being held by a family of the name of Valentine. We do not know either the time or manner of the transfer. Harland thinks it probable that the lands held by the Lathoms went to the Leghs, of Booths, in Eccles, and from them to the Radcliffes. In support of this view, he points out that Matilda, the heiress of John Legh, a descendant of Robert Legh, who held land in Flixton in 1354,

married the Richard Radcliffe whom the *post mortem* inquisition shows to have held so large a portion of Flixton. It is not known how the possessions of the Hultons passed to the Radcliffes, but it is clear that at the end of the fourteenth century the Radcliffes were paramount in Flixton.

The eastern portion of the parish of Flixton goes by the name of Shaw or Shawtown. The villagers call the place Shagh, and this is in accordance with the manner in which the word is spelled in old deeds, where it is alluded to as Shagh, le Shaghe, or the manor of Shagh. This part of Flixton was possessed for two or three centuries by a family named Valentine, related no doubt to the Valentines of Bentcliffe Hall, near Eccles. A Richard Valentine, clerk, is mentioned in an Urmston deed of 1305, and in 1320, as we have seen, a Richard Valentine had a moiety of Flixton. According to an inquisition *post mortem* in 1397—8, John Valentine when he died in 1395 held "*quandam placeam terre cum pertinentiis vocat le Shagh, in Flixton . . . et Johannes filius Ricardi le Valentyn filii predicti Johannis est heres et adtunc fuit etatis 14 annorum*" (*Chet. Soc.*, xcv. 69).

Baines, in his account of the place, does not allude to the Valentines, yet it was through them, not through the Radcliffes, that the lordship of Flixton subsequently passed. During the fifteenth century they seem to have increased their holding in the place, for in 1473 (Harland's *Mamcestre*, iii. 492) Thomas Valentine is found to hold half the lordship of Flixton under Lord de la Warr. The Radcliffe property in Flixton was at this time divided between two descendants of the above-named Richard Radcliffe, viz., Ralphe, probably son or grandson of Sir Ralphe Radcliffe, of Smithills, and Alexander, son of Sir John Radcliffe, of Ordsall. Each of them is described as holding a fourth part of the lordship of Flixton under the lord of Manchester. It is quite possible that some land in the parish was in the hands of other pro-

prietors, such as the Booths, of Barton, who in 1454 (Raines' *Wardens of Manchester, Chetham Soc.*, N.S., v. 29) held property here; but by far the larger portion of the place was owned by the Valentines and Radcliffes.

In the sixteenth century a complete change of proprietorship occurred. John, the last of the Valentines, of Shaw, had two daughters; one died unmarried. Jane, the other, married Lawrence, a younger son of Lawrence Asshawe, of the Hall on the Hill. She died before her husband, and, having no children, gave her lands to her husband (by will dated July 4th, 1558), and he left them to his nephew Leonard, a younger son of his brother, Roger Asshawe, of the Hall on the Hill (Piccope's *Lanc. and Chesh. Wills. Chet. Soc.*, xxxiii. 81).

Lawrence Asshawe, of Shawe, left money "towarde y^e^ pavyng of the highe waye in Flixton betweene y^e^ tithe barne & y^e^ Church," for "y^e^ byeng of belles to y^e^ sayd pishe Church," and for other good purposes connected with Flixton and its church.

His heir Leonard had a son, also called Leonard, who succeeded him, and by one of these Leonards Shaw Hall was built in the reign of James I. The second Leonard died without male heirs. His daughter, Elizabeth Asshawe, married, in 1611, Peter Egerton, who on the death of his father-in-law succeeded to the estates of Asshawes of Shagh.

The part of Flixton belonging in 1472 to Ralph Radcliffe passed to the Barton family by the marriage of John, eldest son of Robert Barton, of Home, to Cicely, co-heiress of Ralph Radcliffe, of Smithills. In 1550, Andrew, son of John Barton, is described as holding the manor of Flixton; and a successor of his, Randle Barton by name, when he died (1611) was possessed, according to an inquisition *post mortem* (*Record Society*, iii. 207), of the manor of Flixton.

It is stated that "the manor, with the messuages, &c., in Flixton, are held of the king as of his Duchy of Lancaster, by the sixth part of a knight's fee and 10^{s} rent, and are worth per annum (clear) £10."

Thomas, the son of Randolph Barton, succeeded to his estates, and had an only daughter, Grace, who married Henry Bellassys, son of Thomas, Viscount Falconbridge or Falconberg. The Flixton property seems to have been settled on Henry Bellassys and his wife Grace, but the greater part was sold off before the death of Thomas Barton. One of the deeds in the possession of Mr. Royle, of Flixton, which he has kindly allowed me to peruse, sets forth that in consideration of £240, Thomas, Lord Falconbridge, Sir Thomas Barton, Henry Bellassys, and Grace his wife conveyed to John Hyde (of Urmston) certain lands in Flixton, in the occupations of tenants named Platt, Wright, and Harper. This sale took place in 1628; and a second deed shows that in the following year a portion of land was conveyed by John Hyde to one John Harper, a shoemaker. Judging from the statement concerning the annual value of the Flixton property which belonged to Randle at the inquisition *post mortem*, it is not probable he possessed much more land in Flixton than that which was conveyed to Hyde; but whatever he left must have been quickly sold, for I find no trace of Henry Bellassys' successors as landed proprietors in Flixton.

The Radcliffes, of Ordsall, one of whom (Alexander) owned in 1473 the remaining fourth of the town of Flixton, were a family of considerable note, and retained their connection with Flixton for several generations. The fourth in descent from Alexander, Sir John Radcliffe, lived at Ordsall, and was probably the most influential, though not the largest, landowner in Flixton. He seems to have farmed the tithes of the parish, for in the 36th of Elizabeth, he, his wife, and

his son were plaintiffs in an action concerning them (*Calendar of Pleadings*, iii. 312). He married Ann, daughter of Thomas Asshawe, of the Hall on the Hill, and died in 1589. In his will he expresses a wish to be buried in the church at Manchester "betwixte the quire doore and the stepps amongste myne ancestors." And at one time a brass memorial existed recording his interment there.

His younger brother Richard lived at Newcroft, in Urmston, and was buried in Flixton Church. In the porch a brass may yet be seen with the following inscription:— "Here lyeth y^e^ bodie of Richard Radclyff Esquier of Newcroft, yongest sonne to S^r^ William Radclyff of Ordsall whoe in his life was Captaine over CC foote at y^e^ Siege of Leeghte and at y^e^ rebellion in y^e^ North, hee had first to wife Brigett y^e^ davght; of Thomas Carell of Warnam in y^e^ County of Svssex Widowe of W. Mollynex sonne and heyre of S^r^ Richard Mollynex, and had issve by her 3 Sonnes he had to his 2 wife Margret y^e^ davght: and heyre of John Radclyff of Foxdenton, and had Issve by her 2 sonnes and 6 davghters whereof 5 davghters are deceased.

"He being of the age of 67 years departed this life 13^th^ of Janvarie in Ano Dom 1602."

The last two lines are of more recent date; the husband and first wife kneel facing each other above the inscription, with a kind of monument between them, and over them a coat of arms; behind her and to the left are her three sons all kneeling; the second wife kneels behind her husband; then follow the three living children behind her in succession; above them to the right are three small coffins to represent the children who had died; there are also coats of arms over the children of each wife. Four if not five of Sir John's sons died in the service of their country. Sir Alexander, the eldest, "was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and died in Ireland in 1599, unmarried. His great

bravery is mentioned by Sir John Harrington, who was in Ireland at the time" (*Stanley Papers, Chet. Soc.*, xxxi. 215). The second son, Captain William Radcliffe, was killed at Blackwater in Ireland, fighting against the Earl of Tyrone. The third son died abroad, and two younger sons were either killed or died of fever in French Flanders. Of Sir John Radcliffe's daughters, two were maids of honour to Queen Elizabeth, and one of them, Margaret, a favourite of the queen, is said to have died from grief at the loss of her brothers. Mary, the daughter of Richard, of Newcroft, was likewise at court as one of the honourable maids of her majesty's bedchamber. The Ordsall Radcliffes were therefore of more than local fame in the days of Queen Bess. But the family soon died out. Sir Alexander, grandson of the knight who lost so many of his sons in war, was the last of his race who lived at Ordsall, for his son John died without male heirs, and the estates were sold.

How the land in Flixton held by the Radcliffes of Ordsall was disposed of is not clear. It may have been purchased by the Asshawes, who evidently increased their holding in Flixton in the latter part of the sixteenth and early portion of the seventeenth century. It may have been sold in plots to tenants, though of this I have so far seen no indication in the deeds connected with property in Flixton which I have inspected. But in some way it was dispersed, and when Peter Egerton succeeded to the Asshawe estates he owned the major portion of the parish, no one else having any considerable holding therein. Peter Egerton was a younger son of Sir Ralph Egerton, of Ridley. From the same line at an earlier date sprang the Ellesmere Egertons and the Egertons of Tatton, who are descended from a notable member of the family—a lord chancellor in the time of James I.

The first of the Flixton Egertons became a leading man

in the district, and in 1641 was high sheriff of Lancashire; but he was not a supporter of King Charles, and in 1642 was replaced in his office by Sir John Girlington, a prominent Royalist. A little later, when Lord Strange was made lord lieutenant by the king, the Commons appointed Lord Wharton. He at once nominated a number of deputy lieutenants, and amongst them Mr. Peter Egerton, of Shaghe, who from this time appears as an active supporter of the Parliamentarian cause. In conjunction with the other deputy lieutenants he arranged for the defence of Manchester, and when on the 23rd of September, 1642, it was reported that great forces, headed by Lord Strange, were coming from Warrington to seize Manchester, the Bells were rung and posts sent into the country whereupon a number of gentlemen from outlying places came in to defend the town, Holland of Denton, Booth of Dunham, "Master Egerton of Shagh" and others. Soon afterwards we find him trying to prevent Lancashire suffering the miseries of civil war. In several counties, Devon and Cornwall for instance, the gentlemen of the county on the two sides came to the arrangement that the peace should not be broken, and Egerton attempted to arrange a similar agreement in Lancashire; but the Parliamentary party, hearing of the proposal, refused to sanction it, and negotiations were therefore broken off.

He was actively employed as a. sequestrator, in raising money and men in Lancashire and in other ways till 1644, when we find him as Colonel Egerton serving under Fairfax at the siege of Lathom House, and afterwards commanding the force. The siege was raised owing to Prince Rupert's entry into Lancashire, but a few months later General Egerton, now in chief command, advanced with four thousand men to besiege Lathom House for the second time, and eventually the garrison surrendered to him. He was subse-

quently actively employed in various administrative offices in Lancashire. In 1649 we find his name appended to a document granting to Humphrey Chetham lands called the College, "late the property of the Earl of Derby but now under sequestration;" but from this time till his death in 1656 he does not seem to have been engaged in any public capacity. His end was tragical, and is thus related in Newcome's *Autobiography*:—"This induces to remembrance another sad story that was notoriously known, not many years since of Colonel Egerton of Shaw here in Lancashire who used to take flour of brimstone for some distemper he had; and he sent the maid into the Closet and she mingled it with milk and he drank it, and it proved mercury; and by this woeful mistake he was poisoned and died in a few hours."

Peter Egerton was succeeded by his son Leonard, and Leonard by his son Peter, who died in 1711. According to Mr. J. E. Bailey (to whom I am indebted for much information concerning Flixton and its families) this Peter was one of the leading florists of the county. He was followed by John Egerton; but the fortunes of the family seem to have gradually fallen. In 1699 a grant of Shaw Hall was made for one hundred years, and in 1722 the estate was sold to William Latus. Before the middle of the century we lose all trace of the Egerton family in Flixton.

An inspection of a series of deeds connected with property in Flixton, which have been very kindly placed at my disposal, by several of the landowners explains the course of events. The majority of the titles commence with the conveyance of a plot or plots of land from the Egertons to their tenants. The earliest of these was executed by Peter and Leonard Egerton in 1641, but the majority of the sales took place between 1660 and 1680, Leonard and his son Peter being the vendors.

It seems likely that impoverishment, due to the part which Peter Egerton played in civil strife, led to this dispersion of his estate by his successors; certain it is that plot after plot was sold to tenants soon after his death. These sales and those effected by certain non-resident landowners—the Falconbridges and Hydes for example—led, by the end of the seventeenth century, to a complete subdivision of the parish amongst small landed proprietors; and the local conditions of the place conduced to a maintenance of this subdivision.

The proximity of Manchester made farming fairly profitable. The loom-weaving—which probably became a common occupation in Flixton in the early part of the eighteenth century—was a valuable source of income to many of the smaller owners, who must otherwise, in bad times, have parted with their lands. The value of the looms and loom rooms is indicated by the mention made of them in the deeds conveying property in Flixton which I have inspected. As late as the middle of the present century a considerable number of the houses in Flixton and Urmston possessed a weaving room, and the click of the shuttle was often heard late into the night, though by this time the introduction of steam had rendered the work unprofitable. The very situation of the place, too, tended to prevent change; for the rivers which surround it on two sides were unbridged, and the road to Flixton led nowhere else. And so it came to pass that, until quite recently, the place had somewhat of an old world aspect, and generation after generation followed the same occupation as their forefathers, cultivated the same soil, and intermarried amongst those of their own village. Changes therefore in the ownership of property were comparatively unfrequent. The land sold by Hyde to Harper, the shoemaker, in 1634, was in the hands of a Harper two hundred years later, and the plots conveyed by

Leonard and Peter Egerton to Walkdens, Bents, Coups, and other Flixton families are still held by their direct descendants.

The Parish Church of Flixton is picturesquely situated, but presents no features of architectural interest. The tower was built in 1731 and the nave in 1756, but the chancel is of older date, and in the eastern wall, just above the window, are two worked stones, evidently belonging to a structure of higher pretensions than the present one. A church has existed on the present site since the twelfth century, but the two stones above mentioned and some fragments of worked stone and carved wood, which came to light during alterations a few years ago, are the only visible remains left of the earlier building. In 1190, Robert de Lathom gave Flixton Church to his monastery at Burscough, near Ormskirk; but between sixty and seventy years later it had passed into the hands of Meiland, Bishop of Lichfield, who, about 1280, gave its advowson and impropriation to form a prebend in Lichfield Cathedral (Shaw's *History of Staffordshire*, i. 292).

Bishop Meiland was the son of William Longspée, Earl of Salisbury. How he obtained possession of the advowson of Flixton is not known, but for about five hundred years the connection between Flixton and Lichfield existed. The tithes were during this time received by the prebendary, who provided by deputy for the spiritual wants of the people and the services of the church. But as the tithes were paid in kind, their collection by a Lichfield prebendary was not practicable, and therefore he leased them for a term of years, or for three lives usually, to someone living in the district, who saw that the produce was duly deposited to the tithe barns, of which there were two in Flixton. One of these is still standing, the other was pulled down a few years ago. At the end of the sixteenth century, Alexander Radcliffe, of Ordsall, Esq., was the lessee or farmer of the tithes, whilst fifty

years afterwards Peter Egerton, of Shaw, Esq., had a lease of them. In later years the tithe farmers are said to have made very considerable profits, owing to the rise in amount and price of produce, but in early times the revenues of the parish were small. In 1291 they were estimated at £4. 13s. 4d. per annum, in 1390 at £7, and in 1650 at £42 per annum; but besides this a messuage worth £20 per annum was, in the seventeenth century, attached to the church.

The income of the perpetual curate of Flixton, who was nominated by the prebendary or by the lessee of the tithes, was very slender. In 1650 he seems to have received about £16 a year besides having a house or the rent thereof. In 1707 the payment by the lessor to the curate was £32 only. Since the beginning of this century a complete change has been made in the application of the tithes. Flixton is now a rectory in the patronage of the Bishop of Manchester, and the tithes no longer go to a lay impropriator, but are directly applied for church purposes. Concerning those who held office of curate prior to the reformation we know hardly anything. In 1552 Edward Smythe was curate, and it was in this year that an inventory of the church goods of the church of Flixton, made by order of Edward VI., showed that the parish possessed "iii vestmentes, iii Albes ii belles one Coope on' Chalece on' crosse of brasse iii corpas too Ault' clothes and on' surples" (Bailey's *Inventories of Church Goods*, *Chet. Soc.*, cvii. 10). Neither Smythe nor his successor, Nicholas Higson, is alluded to in the list of incumbents given by Baines, which commences with Edward Woolmer, undoubtedly the most able of the series. He was in office from 1621 to 1660, and seems during this time to have been actively mixed up with all the matters, both private and public, in the neighbourhood. His name appears as a witness to almost every local deed, and he took part in the many committees, which were formed to arrange local matters when

the old regime was upset. He was evidently a supporter of the Parliamentary side, and in the Church Survey of 1650 is called an "Able and Godly Minister." He seems to have been associated with some of the strongest local opponents of the Royal cause, for we find that "on the 15th of April, 1647, Mr. Heyrick the warden, Mr. Edward Woolmer of Flixton, Mr. John Harrison, Mr. William Walker and Mr. Tobie Furness met together when it was proposed to exchange government and rule without a king" (Raines' *Wardens of Manchester, Chetham Soc.* N.S., v. 130). But he resisted some of the ordinances of the Presbyterian rulers, persisting in performing the marriage ceremony with the ring, as directed by the *Book of Common Prayer*, and for this was called to account by the "Classis," which at this time carried matters with a very high hand. The people of Flixton were much attached to their old form of baptism, and to the figured and carved font which the church possessed. This last they struggled hard to retain, but the "Classis" had it removed, and refused to allow baptism to be performed in the ordinary method. The most noted curate after Mr. Woolmer was one Sedgwick, who, like his predecessor, seems to have been an active friend and helper of all in his parish.

The registers of the parish church begin in 1570, and have been well kept, but some of the volumes are now in a bad state of preservation, and the entries are fast becoming illegible. They contain a considerable number of entries relating to the Radcliffes, Asshawes, and Egertons, which I have extracted (see appendix).

The similarity of the surnames entered in the register three hundred years ago and those most common in Flixton and Urmston at the present time is very marked, and points to the comparatively slight admixture of the population of these villages with outside elements and to a very limited

emigration. A very curious book connected with the parish, but now in the possession of S. Worthington Wright, Esq., contains the churchwardens' accounts from 1705 to 1765. The successive churchwardens have unconsciously but strikingly depicted the customs and peculiarities of a representative Lancashire village in the eighteenth century, and have set forth the price of labour and of many of the ordinary commodities of life. It is impossible here to comment on the various entries, but at some future time a note on the contents of the book may interest the Society.

I must not conclude this paper without alluding briefly to the church bells of which the inhabitants of Flixton were once very proud, but which are now seldom heard. From the fact that Lawrence Asshawe, in 1548, left money for bells for the church, we may conclude that Flixton has had a peal for at least three centuries. Until 1805 there were four bells, but in that year a public subscription was raised to increase the number; and, to preserve uniformity of tone, the old ones were taken down and recast. On these old bells were inscriptions; three being marked, "Jesus be our speed;" a fourth, "Leonard Asshawe Peter Egerton Esq 1624."

When the new bells were brought to the village great rejoicings took place. The largest bell was taken into a field, near the church, and filled with beer, and those who desired supplied themselves with beer by the aid of hands, caps, or whatever came to hand. It had been intended to have six bells, but sufficient money was subscribed for eight, which were accordingly obtained and hung. This number, however, has proved too great for the durability of the building, and at the present time the peal cannot be rung for fear of bringing down the tower, which has shown signs of giving way.

APPENDIX.

EXTRACTS FROM THE FLIXTON REGISTERS.

RADCLIFFES.

Burials.

Margaret, ye daughter of Mr. Richard Radcliffe, ye 22 Dec., 1582.
Margaret, ye daughter of Mr. Richard Radcliffe, ye 3 April, 1585.
Margaret, wyfe of Mr. Richard Radcliffe, ye 1 Decr., 1590.
Mr. Richard Radcliffe, Gen., ye 23 of Februare, 1601[-2].
Ann, infant daughter of Mr. Alexander Radcliffe, 7 Februare, 1607[-8].
Clemens, wyfe to Mr. Alexander Radcliffe, of New Cross, 29 Sept., 1615.
Mr. Alexander Radcliffe, ye 21 April, 1628.
Mr. Francis Radcliffe, ye 2 Februare, 1635[-6].

Christenings.

May 19th, 1617. Frederic, son to Francis Radcliffe.

ASSHAWES.

Burials.

Laurence, son of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., 27 Aug., 1589.
Leonard Ashall, Esqr., 6 daye of Jany., 1594[-5].
Margaret, wyfe of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., 11th Nov., 1596.
Mr. Edward Asshawe, May 4th, 1611.
Mistress Elizabeth Asshawe, widow, 17th Augt., 1611.
Leonard Asshawe, of the Shawe, Esqr., 11 April, 1633.

Christenings.

Judith, daughter of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., April, 1574.
Ellen, daughter of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., 22 July, 1577.
Jane, daughter of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., 18 May, 1581.
Jane, daughter of Leonard Ashall, Esqr., Dec., 1594.
Margaret, daughter of William Ashall, Dec. 13, 1600.

Marriages.

John Bent and Anne Ashall, Feb. 3, 1584[-5].
Leonard Ashall, Esq., and Jane Starkye, May 20, 1598.

(See also Egerton on next page.)

EGERTONS.

Births and Christenings.

Leonardus Egerton, filius Petri Egerton Generosi bapt. fuit July 27, 1617.
Jane, daughter of Peter Egerton, gen., Apl. 11, 1619.
Peter, son of Peter Egerton, gen., Sep. 13, 1620.
Margaret, filia Petri Egerton, gen., Oct. 3, 1623.
Thomas, son of Peter Egerton, gen., Apl. 30, 1626.
Anne, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esqr., Mar. 29, 1630.
Lawrence, son of Peter Egerton, Maye 7, 1633.

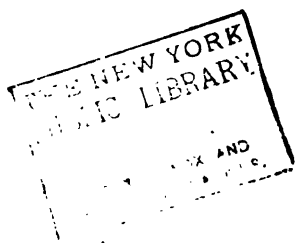
Penelope, daughter of Peter Egerton, of Shagh, Esq., Aug. 21, 1634.
Dorothie, fil Petri Egerton de Shagh armiger bapt. June 24, 1636.
Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esqr., Feb. 28, 1637[-8].
Leonard, son of Leonard Egerton, Oct. 26, 1645.
Ralphe, son of Leonard Egerton, Esq., June 25, 1663.
Katren, daughter of Leonard Egerton, Esq., Aug. 14, 1665.
Thomas, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., Jan. 11, 1699-1700.
Frances, daughter of Peter Egerton, born Feb. 12, bap. Feb. 25, 1700-1.
Legh, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., bapt. June 19, 1702.
William, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., bapt: Sept. 16, 1703.
Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esq., bapt. Feb. 5, 1705-6.
Leonard, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., bapt. Dec. 24, 1707.

Marriages.

Peter Egerton, son of Raphe Egerton, of Ridley, Esq., and Elizabeth Asshawe, daughter of Leonard Asshawe, of Shaghe, Esqr., 28 daye of Aprill, 1611.
Edmund Latham, gent., and Jane Egerton, July 2, 1640.
Thomas Holcrofte, of ye Hurst, and Dorothie Egerton of ye Shagh, mar. Feb. 28, 1654[-5].
Rev. — Nichols and Mris Elizabeth Egerton, July 9, 1692.
Mr. Henry Ware and Mris Mary Egerton, Oct. 13, 1695.
Richard Wheeler, Esq., to Mris Mary Egerton, June 1, 1715.

Burials.

Elizabeth Egerton, Feb. 28, 1628[-9].
John, son of Peter Egerton, Esqr., Oct. 2, 1629.
Lawrence, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., July 16, 1634.
Elizabeth, dau. of Peter Egerton, of Shawe, Esq., March 11, 1638[-9].
Peter, son of Mr. Peter Egerton, Nov. 27, 1643.
Charles, son of Mr. Leonard Egerton, Jan. 2, 1643[-4].
Margaret, daughter of Mr. Peter Egerton, Esqr., and wyfe of Mr. Peter Stanley, was bur. the 1st day of Sep., 1649.
Penelope, daughter of Mr. Leonard Egerton, Dec. 8, 1649.
Cooke Egerton, sonne of Mr. Leonard Egerton, June 25, 1654.
Peter Egerton, of ye Shagh, Esq., May 22, 1656.
Elizabeth, daughter of Leonard Egerton, Dec. 5, 1660.
Elizabeth Egerton, late wife to Peter Egerton, Esqr., bur. May 31, 1661.
Ellen, daughter of Leonard Egerton, of Shaw, Esqr., Jan. 17, 1665.
Mary, daughter of Leonard Egerton, of Shaw, Esq., bur. Jan. 29, 1665[-6].
Leonard Egerton, Esqr., buried according to ye act, &c., Jan. 15, 1679-80.
Mrs. Mary Egerton, relict of Leonard Egerton, of Shaw, bur. according to ye Stat: Apl. 2, 1681.
Leonard, son of Peter Egerton, Esq., Sept., 1688.
Mistress Frances, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esq., June 7, 1696.
Peter Egerton, Esq., March 26, 1699.
Elizabeth, daughter of Peter Egerton, Esq., April 6, 1702.
Peter Egerton, de Shaw, Esq., Mar. 6, 1711[-12].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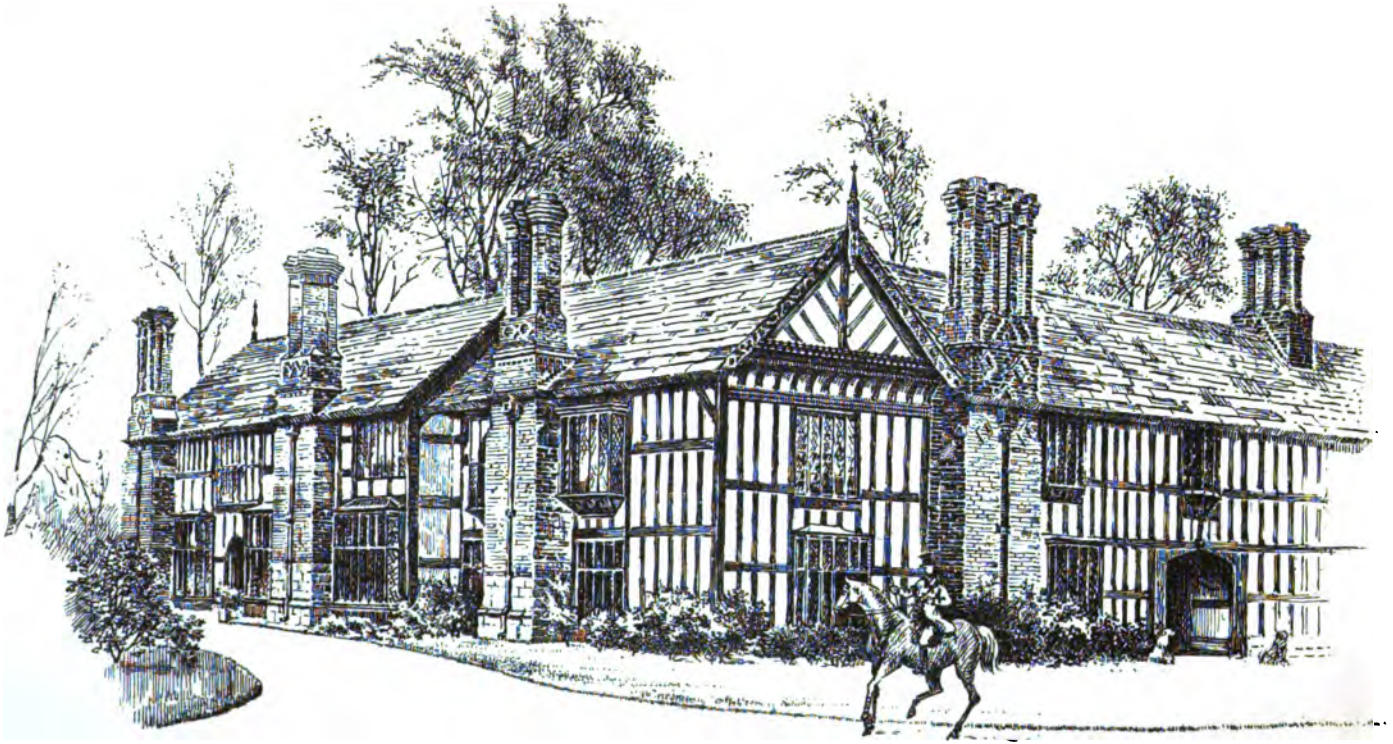


Agecroft Hall.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE CHARTERS, DEEDS, AND OTHER DOCUMENTS, NOW PRESERVED AT AGECROFT HALL, CO. LANCASTER.

BY J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.

THE great importance of *original* documents in the investigation of local and family history, as well as for the general history of any particular country or district, is year by year becoming better understood. The labours of the Historical Manuscripts Commission have been the means of bringing to light a vast amount of manuscript material, not only for the history of England, but also for the history of particular counties and families. The great value attached to the bundles of deeds and papers, which have accumulated in the muniment rooms of old county families, &c., is at last beginning to be appreciated, and most families, who are fortunate enough to possess such documents, are now only too anxious that their literary and historical treasures should be properly cared for, arranged, and calendared. There is perhaps nothing, which more thoroughly distinguishes an old family from a modern one, than the number of family papers and deeds, which have been preserved, and the relative importance of such a family in days gone

by, cannot be better illustrated than by the value of the manuscript treasures, which their muniment room can show. But unfortunately, in most cases, these manuscripts are in a state of utter confusion. Deeds of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries are mixed up with old letters and papers of the last century, or are tied up in packets, endorsed "deeds of no value," because, forsooth, they have no bearing on the present title of the estates to which they relate, whilst in most cases their real value, from another point of view, is far greater than is generally imagined. Deeds relating to one county are mixed up with those of others, and whoever wishes to search for any particular record has a most difficult task before him. Few people, moreover, have either the time or the inclination to wade through a large collection of unarranged manuscripts, frequently very illegible and difficult to decipher, or else discoloured and dirty. But how different is the case when they have been properly examined, sorted, and calendared. They are then all chronologically arranged, numbered consecutively, and each deed bears on the back a concise endorsement of the nature of its contents. The family deeds, grants of lands, wills, marriage settlements, &c., are put together, so that each step in the family pedigree can be *proved* by documentary evidence, and it is not necessary to invent bogus ancestors to bolster up an imaginary old descent. The deeds, which have come into the muniment room in consequence of marriages with heiresses or in other ways, are kept by themselves, and those of one county are, as far as possible, separated from those of another. Then, with a proper calendar, it is possible for any one, specially interested in the past history of any particular parish or district, to ascertain very quickly what deeds are likely to prove of assistance to him, and he can find them at once by their numbers. To sum the matter up concisely,

the difference between the two cases is in fact the difference between chaos and confusion and order and arrangement.

The charters and deeds, which form the subject of this paper, when placed in my hands, were in the state of chaos and confusion above described, and considerable time and trouble were required before they were able to be properly arranged and calendared as they now are. But before proceeding to describe them it may be interesting to give a few particulars of Agecroft Hall, and the families, which have owned and lived on that estate.

AGECROFT HALL, one of the finest of the old black and white, timber and plaster, halls now remaining in the neighbourhood of Manchester, is situated in Pendlebury, about five miles distant from that city. The original owners of the manor of Pendlebury were a family who bore the local name, and who were probably descended from one "Elias son of Robert," to whom one carucate of land called "Peneburi" was granted by King John in the year 1199. They were succeeded, probably through marriage, by the Prestwiches, who owned the adjacent manor of Prestwich and the advowson of the church there. Joan, the daughter and ultimately the heiress of Jordan de Tetlow, by his wife Alice, daughter and ultimately heiress of the last Adam de Prestwich, married Richard de Longley, about the year 1360, and so brought the manors of Pendlebury, Prestwich, and Alkrington, and lands in those and the adjacent townships, into the Longley family. The Longleys or Langleys, of Agecroft, became a family of considerable importance in this part of Lancashire during the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and are frequently mentioned in local deeds and public records. There were several members of this family rectors of Prestwich, and one of them, Ralph Longley, held the wardenship of Manchester from 1465 to 1481. Sir Robert Langley, of Agecroft, Knt., who died on the 19th

September, 1561, left four daughters, amongst whom his large estates were divided. Dorothy Langley, who married James Ashton, of Chadderton, Esq., had the manor and advowson of Prestwich; Catherine Langley, who married Thomas Legh, Esq. (the fourth son of Sir Peter Legh, of Lyme, co. Chester, Knt.), had the manor of Alkrington; Margaret Langley, who married (1) John Reddish, of Reddish, Esq., and (2) Richard Holland, of Denton, Esq., had other lands; whilst Anne Langley, to whom her father had given Agecroft and adjacent lands, married William Dauntesey, Esq., a descendant of an old Wiltshire family. The Daunteseys of Agecroft held that estate for many generations, and it is now the property and residence of Robert Dauntesey, Esq., who took the name of Dauntesey on succeeding to it a few years ago, and in whom the "Agecroft Charters and Deeds" have found a most worthy owner and custodian.

Exclusive of loose papers, this collection contains in all five hundred and sixty documents, of which three hundred and eighty-six properly come under the designation of the Agecroft Charters and Deeds; the remainder, one hundred and seventy-four in number, relating to land in or near Poulton, in North Lancashire, the property of Mr. Dauntesey and his relations.*

The AGECROFT CHARTERS AND DEEDS begin in the year 1199 and come down to 1811, no later deeds having been examined for the purposes of the calendar of them recently made. I have divided them for convenience of reference into the following eleven groups, the various deeds being arranged chronologically in each group, and the numbers being consecutive:—

* When this paper was read before the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, on the 2nd April, 1886, the total number of documents was four hundred and fifty, but several bundles, chiefly relating to Poulton, have since been found, and are now included in the calendar.

I. Early deeds relating to the manor of Prestwich and the advowson of the church there, the manor of Pendlebury, and the families of Prestwich, Holland, and Radcliffe, 1199 to 1395, arranged in two packets, forty-three deeds in all.

II. Deeds relating to the Langleys, of Agecroft, 1367 to 1572, arranged in seven packets, ninety-six deeds in all.

III. Deeds relating to the Daunteseys, of Agecroft, 1573 to 1811, arranged in three packets, eighty-three deeds in all.

IV. Leases of lands in Pendlebury, Pendleton, and Prestwich, &c., 1631 to 1821, arranged in three packets, fifty-one deeds in all.

V. Miscellaneous papers, &c., relating to the Daunteseys, twenty-one in number.

VI. Deeds relating to the families of Dauntesey, of London, and of co. Wilts., &c., 1548 to 1630, arranged in two packets, thirty-nine deeds in all.

VII. Miscellaneous deeds relating to Manchester, 1318 to 1760, one packet containing fourteen deeds.

VIII. Miscellaneous deeds relating to Rochdale, Middleton, Pendleton, &c., 1273 to 1509, one packet containing nineteen deeds.

IX. Early deeds relating to Wrightington and Whittle, co. Lancaster, 1270 to 1630, one packet containing eight deeds.

X. Miscellaneous deeds relating to North Lancashire, the Chisenhale family, &c., 1573 to 1738, one packet containing six deeds.

XI. Miscellaneous deeds not relating to Lancashire, 1391 to 1800, one packet containing six deeds.

Another group kept distinct from the above and numbered differently is—

XII. Deeds relating to Poulton, co. Lancaster, 1623 to 1864, arranged in ten packets, one hundred and seventy-four deeds in all.

These various groups may perhaps best be noticed separately.

I. *Early Prestwich Deeds*, 1199 *to* 1395.

The two packets in this group contain forty-three small deeds, all of course in Latin or Norman French, many of which are of much interest. No. 1 is the earliest *original* dated deed, relating to Lancashire or Cheshire, which I have so far met with. It is the grant from King John, dated the first year of his reign, 10th October, 1199, to "Elias the son of Robert" of one carucate of land, called "Peneberi." It is in perfect preservation, the writing being as fresh as when first made, six hundred and eighty-six years ago, and there is a large portion of the king's great seal still attached to it. The following is a translation of it:—

> JOHN by the grace of God, King of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Earl of Anjou, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Provosts and all Bailiffs and his faithful people, greeting. Know ye that we have given and granted to Elias, the son of Robert, one carucate of land called Penebi, with the appurtenances, and to his heirs to hold of us and our heirs in fee and inheritance in free tenure by the free service of ten shillings per annum, according as our charter to him made, when we were Earl of Moreton, bears witness.
>
> These being witnesses, Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, Herbert of Sarum and Roger of S[t] Andrews, Bishops, R. Earl of Leycester, John de Pratell, Robert Grelley, Warren de Glapion, William de Cantilupe, Peter de Stoks.
>
> Given under the hands of Simon, Archdeacon of

Wells and John de Gray at Le Mans *(Cenom)* the 10th day of October, the first year of our reign [1199]

This "Elias, son of Robert" was most probably the founder of the family of Pendlebury, who took their name from the estate, which had thus been granted to them. Elias seems to have been kept up as a name, for in 1292 "Elias de Penulburi," the eldest son of Roger de Penulburi, occurs. It is also probable that the Prestwich family was either descended from or connected by marriage with the Pendleburys. The exact amount of land included at this date in a "carucate" is almost impossible to estimate. It was certainly of large extent, and was the foundation of the subsequent "manor" of Pendlebury. The importance of this grant is shown by the number and rank of those whose names are appended as witnesses, all of whom would be present with the king at Le Mans in Normandy. It is interesting to find Robert Grelley, the lord of the manor of Manchester, amongst the witnesses, his being the only Lancashire name in the list.

The church "of the Blessed Mary of Prestwich" is mentioned in the deeds Nos. 5 and 6, in the years 1300 and 1304, and there are many subsequent references to it, the advowson being held by the Prestwich family. Nos. 8 and 9 are copies of the "fine" of the manor of Pendlebury, &c., which was levied in 1311, and which is so often subsequently referred to. Deed No. 13 is dated at Pontefract, in Yorkshire, the grantor, Thomas, son of John de Prestwich, being then there. The other deeds in this group throw much new light on the families of Prestwich, Radcliffe, and Holland, and on the early history of the manors of Prestwich, Pendlebury, &c. No. 35 is a very interesting document, dated 1371, being a record that Margaret Prestwich, one of the two daughters and co-heirs of Thomas, son of Adam de Prestwich, had become a nun at Seton, co. Cumberland, in

the year 1360, when fifteen years of age and upwards, in the presence of the Prior of the Abbey of Furness and others. A translation here follows:—

> Know all men &c. that the Lady, *(domina)* Margaret de Prestwyche, one of the nuns of Seton, of the age of fifteen years and upwards, was professed in the morrow of S[t] Katherine the Virgin and Martyr [*i.e.* 26th November] Anno Domini 1360 in the presence of Sir *(domini)* John Cragge, Prior of the Abbey of ffurnes, and Sir *(domini)* John de Hudelleston, knight, and lord of Millum, Richard de Cowplond of Furnes, Richard de Huddeleston and others. And the said Lady Margaret on the said day in the presence of the said persons made obeisance *(obedienciam)* to the Prioress of Seton, viz the Lady Ada *(Ede)* de Walton, and the said Margaret on the said day confessed before the said persons, that she was not coerced nor compelled but voluntarily entered the order of S[t] Benedict *(sc'i bn'dc'i)* in the said house and was professed.
>
> In testimony of which the common seal of the House of the Nuns of Seton to these presents is placed. Given at Seton in the feast of S[t] Andrew the Apostle [November 30th] 1371.

(To this deed a large oval-shaped seal of white wax is still attached, but it is so much rubbed as to be quite illegible.)

II. *Deeds relating to the Langleys of Agecroft, 1367 to 1572.*

Richard de Longley married Joan, the granddaughter and ultimately the heiress of the last Adam de Prestwich, and their son, Roger de Longley, therefore, succeeded to the manors of Prestwich, Pendlebury, and Alkrington, and the advowson of Prestwich Church, which manors and advowson remained the property of his descendants until the middle of

the sixteenth century. There were at first many suits about these estates, for, as shown by the deeds in this collection, the Radcliffes and the Hollands both contested the rights of the Longleys, and it was not till about the year 1376 or even later, that these disputes were settled.

In deed No. 50, dated 1376, the "vill" or township of "Achecroft" is first mentioned, whilst Nos. 52 and 53 are dated from "Achecroft,"* in 1390, showing that a house of some kind then existed there, five hundred years ago. There are two early marriage settlements in Norman French, the first of which (No. 54) is for the marriage of Robert, son and heir apparent of Roger de Longley, with Katherine, daughter of William de Atherton, Esq., dated 1391, and the other (No. 60), for the marriage of Thomas, son and heir apparent of Robert de Longley, with Margaret, daughter of John de Assheton, Esq., dated 20th July, 1412.

Deeds No. 58, dated 1402, and No. 66, dated 1414, show the turbulent spirit of those times, as they refer to disputes in which fighting, personal assaults, looting of cattle, burning of houses, &c., are described. These are too interesting to be passed over, but as they are of considerable length it will only be possible to give a series of extracts from them here. The first is a pardon, under the great seal, dated 23rd May, 3 Henry IV. [1402], to Robert de Longley for capturing and detaining Robert de Holland, who had driven away his cattle, &c. It states that Robert de Holland and certain other persons, outlawed for felony, had lately come by divers ways to the manor-house *(ad manerium)* of Robert de Longley, at Prestwich, "the said Robert de Longeley being in our service after our coming into England," and had driven away his cattle, &c., and those of his tenants. And also that on another occasion they had come by night and seized the animals, goods, and chattels of the said Robert

* In the second of these deeds the name is spelled "Hachecroft."

de Longley, and had taken them away as far as Glossop, in the county of Derby, and there they entered the house of a "certain master Wagstave," and refused to give up any of the said goods, &c., to Robert de Longley and his friends, who had followed them. They also defied him and fought with him, so that one of Longley's servants was wounded by an arrow, whereupon "the brother of him that was wounded, seeing that his brother was badly wounded and in danger of death, threw fire into the said house so that it was burnt and the said Robert de Longley took the said Robert de Holland and conveyed him to the county of Lancaster and kept him in custody there amongst his friends and those who took his part."

The other deed, No. 66, is a very long one, being an "inspeximus" of the record of a trial, at Lancaster, between John, Duke of Lancaster, and Robert de Holland, relating to the manor of Prestwich, &c. In the beginning a number of cases of assaults, &c., committed by Roger de Holland are set out, apparently with the view of showing what a turbulent character he was, as they have no connection with the manor of Prestwich, the account of which comes about the middle of the deed. Thus it states, "Roger de Holland bastard, Geoffrey de Bucley, Henry his brother, Roger the son of Richard del Milnehous, Robert his brother, John the son of William de Hill and Henry de Prestwich" on the Sunday next after the feast of St. Michael the Archangel [September 29th], 1389, "came *vi et armis*, namely with swords, bows and arrows, early in the morning, before the rising of the sun, to the vill of Hunresfeld and there in a certain place called Inchfeld, placed themselves in ambush for the purpose of slaying or maiming John son of Henry de Haworth, and they made an assault upon the said John coming towards his parish church of Rachedale, shooting upon him altogether and following him to the great terror of the said John, so that had it not been for the mediation of

the Divine Grace, by which he leapt to a certain bell tower of the height of 20 feet, he would not have escaped their hands with his life,* and they took one sheaf of arrows of the said John, which having fallen on account of their violence, laid there and carried the same away with them." On another Sunday in that year they assaulted Henry de Haworth "and beat him and wounded him and evil entreated him,"† and on a subsequent Sunday they came to Rachedale Milnehous in the vill of Hunresfeld with swords, bows, and arrows, and there made an assault upon William de Radclif and many others, being there that day, and shot arrows at them, "to the great fear of the whole parish being there assembled." Whereupon "William the son of William de Radclif, Robert de Haworth, William Jankynson of Radclif, Robert the son of William de Radclif, Richard his brother, John Haworth and Roger Dickonson Banastre on the said Sunday came to the said place with swords bows &c and shot back with arrows upon the said Roger de Holland, bastard, and his other companions abovenamed, to the great fear of the parishioners there assembled."

The record goes on to state that Robert de Holland aided and abetted his son, the said Roger de Holland, bastard, and his companions, and supplied them with provisions and clothing, and gave them head coverings of one kind *(capicia de una secta)*, and that they assaulted the reapers of Roger, late vicar of Rachedale, whilst reaping the corn of the said vicar in his fields, and prevented their continuing their labour. And further, they came with swords, bows and arrows, in the year 1388, to the vill of Castleton "and there broke the doors and windows of the vicarage *(vicarie)* of Rachedale

* The Latin reads thus:—"Ita quod nisi gracia divina mediante saltasset ad quoddam pinnaculum altitudinis viginti pedum non evasisset manus eorum cum vita sua."

† The Latin words are:—"et ipsum verberaverunt vulneraverunt et male tractaverunt."

and drove the said Vicar, Roger del Lache by name from his house so that he dared not return, nor any of his servants, until he had paid a fine of 2 marks to the said Roger de Holland, so that he might have peace and quietness in the future." But the climax of these evil deeds is recited last although of earlier date. This was when John Boteller, sheriff of Lancashire, seized the manor of Prestwich into the hands of the Duke of Lancaster, on the Monday next after the feast of the Ascension of our Lord [*i.e.*, 15th May], in the forty-eighth year of the reign of King Edward III. [1374], by reason of the minority of Roger, son and heir of Richard de Longley and Joan his wife, who held the said manor, of the said duke, *in capite* by knight's service. "Whereupon came Robert de Holland on the said Monday with many others assembled together with him, armed in breastplates and with swords bows and arrows and intruded himself and by force took possession of the said lordship of the Duke, in the presence of the said Sheriff to the great contempt of the said Lord the Duke, *vi et armis* and against the peace &c, and he occupied the said manor to the day of taking this Inquisition" until in fact he was put upon his trial, a period of about ten or twelve years! At this trial Robert de Holland gave his reasons for claiming to be considered the rightful owner of these estates, but ultimately he had to confess that his claim was an unjust one, and the right of the Longleys was most clearly proved.

Two or three of the deeds in the latter half of the fifteenth century are noteworthy. In one (No. 82), dated 6th November, 1475, there is mention of "Ralph Longley, clerk, Master or Warden of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Manchester;"* and in another (No. 83),

* Another of the Agecroft deeds, No. 348, subsequently described, see p. 217, corrects a mistake in the account of the Wardens of Manchester, recently printed by the Chetham Society.

dated 18th August, 1479, there is recorded the evidence of various witnesses that "Le ffoyecastell More" was part of the lordship of Prestwich and so belonged to the Langleys, and that it did not form part of the manor of Crumpsall. I am informed that no place of this name is now known in or near Prestwich; and it is possible that this old designation may point to some Roman or Saxon encampment, or so called "castle," all trace of which has now disappeared.*

The first deed written in English occurs in 1427 (No. 75), but Latin was still the language usually employed for the next seventy years. This document is a bond by which Thomas de Hulton, parson [*i.e.* rector] of the church of Bury, is bound to Thurstan de Longley, parson of the church of Prestwyche, in £40. The "condition" is endorsed on the back in the quaint English of that time, as follows:—

> The condicion of yis obligacion is suche yat if y^e^ within wryten Thomas suffre y^e^ w^t^in wrytyn Thurstan pesibele to ocupie & reioise all y^e^ dismes mortuares oblacions obuencions and emolimentz w^t^in y^e^ Town of Totyngton [near Bury] & Totyngton ffryth in y^e^ same ordo^r^ & fo^r^me as y^e^ sentence of y^e^ sayd dismes mortuares oblacions obuencions and emolimentz betwene y^e^ sayd Thomas & Thurstan was gyfen before Richard of Stanley Archedeaken of Chest^r^ oy' his Officiall in his Cort Christien at Weryngton w^t^outen desto^r^baunce oy' impedimēt of y^e^ sayd Thomas other any oy' be hys assent ꝑcuremēt oy' abettmēt yat yen yis obligacion be voide and of no value and elles hit stond in force & vertue Ordeynet alwaye yat if y^e^ sayd Thomas be necligētte take any dysme oblacion oy' obuencion vnd^r^ y^e^ value of vj^s^ viij^d^ agaynes y^e^ fo^r^me of y^e^ sayd sentence and satisfie y^e^ sayd Thurstan w^t^in xl dayes aft' yat he be requeret yat yen yis sayd obligacion be not forfait for non syche takyngs."

* This place is also mentioned in 1338 (deed No. 21), where it is called "le foghcastel," and again in deed No. 100, dated 1520, in which certain lands, "parcel of Prestwich Moor, joining to the ffocastell," are mentioned. In this latter deed "the Hall of Heyton" is also named, and, as far as I am aware, this is the earliest reference to it.

To several of these deeds the seals remain attached in good preservation, and care has been taken to place these in boxes to prevent their being damaged in the future. It would also appear that some of the deeds of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are now missing, as the bonds given to perform the covenants, contained in indentures of even date, are extant, whilst the indentures themselves are missing. No. 104 is the original will, in Latin and English, of Robert Langley, dated 22nd February, 1524-5, and proved at Chester, 1st April, 1528, no other copy of which is known to exist. He desired to be buried in the new chapel on the south part of the parish church of the Blessed Mary of Prestwich, and he bequeathed £6. 13s. 4d. to "ye Byldyng of ye poche churche of owre lady of Eccles, to be payed and delyuered to ye said werke by my executors as the werke gothe ffurthe." He also leaves to his grandson and heir apparent, Robert Langley, "all thynges appartenyng vnto ye Chapell that is to witt A chales A masse boke al[l] vestiments for a prest to saye masse wt An altare portabile wt oy' Cloths belongyng to ye awter." This probably refers to the private chapel at Agecroft Hall. He leaves very special instructions as to the masses to be said for the repose of his soul after death, as follows (the contracted words being extended):—

> "Item I will on[e] trentall of masses be songyn for me at prestwyche ye daye of my buriall if so mony prests cam yeder that daye to saye masse. Item I will an oyer [another] trentall of masses shalbe sayde for my sawle at manchester as hastely as can be after my deceasse all opon an other daye. Item I will that my prest Syr John Mosse shall saye a thrydde trentall for my sawle anone after my decesse. Item I will the said sir John mosse shall do and saye diuine seruice at prestwyche for on[e] yere for my saule and all Crystyn sawles and shall hafe for his stipende vj markes."

The "cell of Kersal" is mentioned in deeds Nos. 109 and 110, which are dated in 1539; and also in deeds Nos. 113, 115, and 126, the latter being an award, dated 5th Dec., 1560, to settle certain "variances" which had arisen between "Sir Robert Langley of Edgecroft, knight, on the one part, and James Chetham of Crumpsall, Edward Sydall of Wythynton, and George Kenyon of Kersall, yeomen, tenants and inheritors of the House and demesne lands of the late Cell or Priory of Kersall, on the other part." Deed No. 130, dated 16th September, 3 Elizabeth [1561], is the settlement of "all that capital messuage or mansion house of Agecrofte with its appurtenances in the vill of Pendlebury and also all the closes, lands &c. in the vill aforesaid, commonly called Pendilburie demaynes and known by the several names of Le olde Agecrofte, Le Lower Copies [coppice], Le over copies, le parke, le greate Rye ffilde, Le Little Rie ffilde, Le soure butts, Le Lummes, Le warthe, Le Crymbles, Aynsley, Le Oxe hey and Le Little Oxe hey and the water mill in Prestwich and lands there and common of pasture on Swinton Moore" by Sir Robert Langley, of Agecroft, knight, on Anne Langley, his daughter, who subsequently married William Dauntesey, Esq., and so carried Agecroft into that family.

III. *Deeds relating to the Dauntesey of Agecroft.* 1572 *to* 1811.

These deeds, although numerous, do not call for so much comment as the earlier ones. From them the pedigree of the Dauntesey family may be accurately deduced; the marriage settlements, wills, inquisitions *post mortem*, &c., having been fairly well preserved, although I much fear that some documents, once belonging to this collection, are now missing. There is frequent reference in these deeds to the chief neighbouring families, and much information with

regard to such families may be obtained from them. In some of the deeds the names of the various fields belonging to the Agecroft estate are set out at length, and in one, dated 26th June, 1694, the rooms, &c., belonging to the Hall are described as follows: "the Great Parlor and [the] Chamber over it, the Butterey, Seller and Chamber over it, the Hall, Kitchen, Butterey and Brewhouse and the chambers over them, the Great Barn commonly called the New Barn, one stable, the garden and [the] orchard behind the garden." Another deed of the same date has attached to it a long schedule or "Inventory of the Goods, Cattells and Chattells and personall Estate of John Dauntesey Esq deceased" which gives the contents of the Hall at that time. Amongst the rooms "the Chappell" is mentioned as well as "the Porters Warde," "the Hall," "the Greate Parlor," "the Buttery," "the Dyneinge Roome," "the Chappell Chamber," "the farther Chappell Chamber," "the Greene Chamber," &c. Many of the items there specified appear very curious and quaint at the present day.

IV. *Leases of Lands in Pendlebury, Pendleton, Prestwich, &c.*, 1631 *to* 1787.

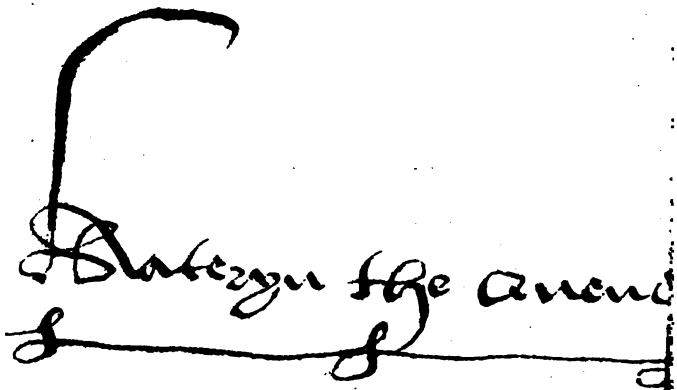
These leases are chiefly for lives, and so afford information concerning many yeomen and other families, which it would be difficult to find elsewhere. They also give the names of localities, fields, &c., which will be found useful to those studying place names, &c.

V. *Miscellaneous Papers.*

Amongst these is a very curious MS. treatise on Freemasonry, written about the year 1690, which has been considered by those, who are specially interested in the study of "the craft," to be worthy of preservation in print; and it has accordingly been transcribed by W. Harry Rylands,

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.



RELEASE FROM C

Esq., F.S.A., and printed in *The Keystone*, an American Masonic journal, March 20th, 1886. There is also an interesting series of notes on the old Dauntesey family of Wiltshire, signed by Jo: Phillpotts, *Somerset Herald.*

VI. *Deeds relating to the Dauntesey Family of London and co. Wilts, &c.*, 1506 *to* 1630.*

These deeds are of service in supplying proofs of the parentage of the William Dauntesey† who married Anne Langley, and who was the only one of his name to settle in Lancashire. His father, Richard Dauntesey (the son of John Dauntesey), is described in 1538 as "Gentleman Usher to the Queen's Grace," and there is frequent mention of the members of this family living in London and in Wiltshire. A facsimile of an interesting document is given in the opposite plate, being a release from lady Katherine Howard, the fifth wife of King Henry VIII., when Queen, of a sum of £30 due to her by Richard Dauntesey, one of her Gentlemen Ushers. She was only Queen from the date of her marriage on the 28th July, 1540, to that of her execution on the 12th February, 1542, and her signature "Kateryn the Quene" is one of very rare occurrence. Deed No. 315, dated in 1627, is a settlement by Sir John Dauntesey, Knt., of his manors, &c., in the counties of Wilts, Somerset, and Gloucester; and No. 317 is a copy of his will proved in 1630, in which he is described as of Lavington Bishop, co. Wilts, Knt.‡

* In this bundle there are several deeds relating to property in Devizes, co. Wilts, which the Daunteseys subsequently owned, the earliest of which is dated 1492. The earliest Dauntesey deed is dated 1506.

† In April, 1572, he is described as of "Hocksten, *alias* Hogesden [now Hoddesden], co. Middlesex, Esq." (see deed No. 139).

‡ There is preserved at Agecroft a large pedigree of the Dauntesey family, drawn up about 1625 by Jo. Philpots, *Somerset Herald.* It is framed, about five feet high by three feet broad, and hangs on the staircase.

VII., VIII., IX., X., *and* XI. *Miscellaneous Deeds relating to Lancashire and elsewhere.*

Many of these are of much interest, particularly those relating to Manchester, which mention some of the chief inhabitants of the town in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. The earliest of these is a grant of half a burgage in "Manchester" dated 1318, from "Robert son of Hugh del Milngate" to Richard, his son, to which Henry Boteronde, then provost *(preposito)* of the town was a witness. There are several deeds between the Hulmes, of Davy Hulme, the Marlers, the Sandeforths, and the Burdmans, relating to a messuage in Manchester, described in 1469 "as a burgage with a messuage and a wyne taverne and a hegh chamber thereopon" situated at the east end of the church-yard of Manchester, which in 1544 was sold to Robert Langley, of Agecroft, Esq. To the delivery of seisin endorsed on this deed, "Thomas Huet, Doctor of Physyk," was one of the local witnesses. A document of much later date is an original Share Certificate, No. 156, dated 10th June, 1724, in the Mersey and Irwell Navigation Company. The deeds relating to Rochdale, Middleton, Pendleton, &c., which begin in 1273, and come down to 1509, contain the names of many local persons as witnesses, but are otherwise, with one exception, not of any special interest. To a deed dated 20th November, 1477, John Walton, Vicar of Rochdale, is a witness, and another dated 8th October, 1493, has the bold signature of James Stanley, clerk,* who had been chosen as umpire in certain disputes. Deed No. 348 is the grant of certain messuages, &c., in Hindley, near Wigan, from Ralph Longley, late Warden of

* This was not the Warden of Manchester of that name, as the latter was at that time Bishop of Ely.

the Collegiate Church of Manchester, to Thomas Longton, of the Lowe, for his life. This deed, which is dated 3 Richard III. [1485], is interesting in this respect, that it is the original deed, the counterpart or a copy of which has, by some chance, been misread, and has given rise to an imaginary Warden of Manchester, one *Edmund* Langley, who appears as such in Canon Raines' account of the Wardens of Manchester, recently printed by the Chetham Society (N.S., vol. v., p. 27). Canon Raines states that "Edmund Langley does not occur in any Catalogue of the Wardens, nor is there any notice of his appointment amongst the records of the See at Lichfield; and yet he is expressly named as 'Eadmond Longley, late Master or Warden of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary, in Manchester, in a grant of a messuage to Thomas Langton of Lowe brother of Gilbert Langton, situate in Hindley in the tenure of William Kersley' &c. . . . 'dated at Hindley on Monday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, in the third year of Richard the Third 14 July 1485.'"* How this misreading can have arisen it is difficult even to imagine. What the deed really does say is as follows (translated), and it only remains to add that Ralph Longley was Warden of Manchester from the 9th November, 1465, to 1481, so that in 1485 he would be rightly described as "late Warden."

> To all &c. Ralph Longley, late Master or Warden of the Collegiate Church of the Blessed Mary of Mamcestr sends greeting. Know ye that I have granted and demised to Thomas Longton of the Lawe, brother of Gilbert Longton, all my messuage, lands &c. now in the tenure of Nicholas Tailior, in the vill of Hyndeley co. Lanc and all my messuage, lands &c. now in the

* Although no reference is given by Canon Raines, it may be noted that this deed is to be found in *Local Gleanings*, vol. i., p. 266.

tenure of William Kersley in the same vill, and all my rent from the heirs of John Sale for his tenement now in the tenure of James Cleworth in the same vill. To have and to hold to the said Thomas for the term of his life, of the chief lords of the fee by the services therefore due and of right accustomed, with remainder after the decease of the said Thomas to the said Gilbert and his heirs for ever, the which messuages &c. I lately had of the gift and feoffment of the said Gilbert. [With clause of warranty.]

These being witnesses Thomas Gerard, Knight, John Longton parson of the church of Wygan, John Longley, Robert Chernok Esquires, Hugh Hyndeley and others. Given at Hyndeley on Monday next after the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul [June 29th] 3 Richard III. [1485]. The seal is gone.

It is, therefore, to be hoped that no more will be heard of this imaginary Warden, Edmund Longley.

The early Wrightington and Whittle deeds begin *c.* 1270, and it is noteworthy that in the earliest of them the boundaries of a certain piece of land are described as the Cold Hill *(frigidum collem)* and the Black *(nigrum)* Hate Broke. The Chisenhall deeds are few in number, and relate chiefly to lands in Gorthwaite and Ulverston, sold to a number of persons in the year 1606. A deed (No. 366) dated 1391 is curiously enough the grant of some lands in Bedfordshire, from John de Arderne to William de Wetherby, vicar of the church of Blakeborne, and Roger de Longelegh. Another document (No. 369) is the declaration of allegiance to King Charles II. by a Yorkshire gentleman, and how it has found its way into this collection it is difficult to say. It reads as follows:—

"In Pursuance of the gracious declaration of his most Excellent Majesty Lord Charles II., given under his

Majesty's sign manual and privy signet at his Court at Breda the 14 of April last and on the 1st May last, I William White of Bashall co. York Esq. do with most humble and hearty thankfulness lay hold on his Majesty's General Pardon by the said declaration granted, and do hereby publicly declare that I am and will continue his Majesty's loyal and obedient servant.

Dated 8 June 1660. (Signed) Will. White.

Subscribed in the presence of
Har. Grimston
Speaker of the Howse of Comons."

Such is a short account of the Agecroft charters and deeds; and it will, I trust, serve to show what a varied collection of documents is often to be found in old deed boxes and muniment rooms. This collection is, I think, one of much interest, and it is the more valuable because, as far as I can ascertain, it has never been previously examined by any antiquary, and the nature and contents of the various deeds have hitherto been quite unknown. Whilst much fresh light is thrown on the history of the parish of Prestwich and on the township of Pendlebury and Agecroft Hall, these deeds are found to contain many references to the adjacent parishes and places, which will be found very useful to the local historian. In some of them there is mention of the clergy of Eccles, Radcliffe, and other churches, whose names are not to be found in the local and county histories, whilst others supply useful particulars for the pedigrees of many Lancashire families of note. With the assistance of documents to be found in the Record Office, London, the British Museum, the Probate and Ecclesiastical Registries at Chester, &c., &c., these deeds will enable full and accurate pedigrees of the families of Prestwich, Langley, Dauntesey, &c., to be drawn up, as well as making many additions to those of Holland, Radcliffe, Hulme, &c. As

already noted, one of the Langleys held the important office of Warden of Manchester in the fifteenth century, and they took high rank among the families of South Lancashire.

I am glad to be able to announce that Mr. Dauntesey has desired me to make translations and abstracts of all these Agecroft deeds and charters, and has decided to have them printed under my editorship, so as to place them on permanent record. In the introduction to this volume, a full account of Agecroft Hall and of its owners, the Prestwiches, the Langleys, and the Daunteseys will be given, and it will be illustrated by facsimiles of some of the most important of the deeds, views of the hall, sketches of the various details, old portraits, shields of arms, &c., &c. The pedigrees of the Prestwiches, the Langleys, and the Dauntesseys will be very carefully worked out; and although the volume will be practically a privately printed one, there will be a few copies for sale, and copies will also be placed in the Manchester and other public libraries. This book will, I hope, be ready by the end of next year (1887), and I trust it may be the precursor of many similar volumes, as there can be no doubt there are many Lancashire and Cheshire families, who are the fortunate possessors of collections of old deeds and papers, fully as interesting, and as important for family and local history, as the one here described. When these are calendared and printed, a mass of information, now entirely unknown, will be made available for historical purposes, and who can venture to say what interesting facts may not be thus brought to light?

PROCEEDINGS.

Friday, January 8th, 1886.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE third Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Reading Room at the Chetham Hospital, under the presidency of Mr. William E. A. Axon.

Mr. George C. Yates, Honorary Secretary, read the Annual Report of the Council and the Treasurer's Statement of Accounts.

On the motion of Mr. Edward Kirk, seconded by Mr. Herbert Sherriff, the Report and Financial Statement were adopted.

The Chairman said the next matter was the appointment of officers of the Society for the coming year. The only gentleman nominated for the post of president was the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, who was therefore elected. He congratulated the members upon their new President. He was a gentleman who united great archæological and scientific knowledge, and belonged to a race in which talent had been hereditary for many generations. One of the most charming genealogical books in the English language was written by the present earl's father, he meant *The Lives of the Lindsays.* The family to which their new President

belonged had given warriors to the field, statesmen to the council, and in these later days men of the highest distinction in science and literature.

A ballot for the new council of fifteen ordinary members was taken, and the list of Council was finally made up as follows:—

President:

The Right Hon. the EARL OF CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES, F.R.S., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents:

The Right Hon. the LORD EGERTON OF TATTON, F.S.A.
Sir THOMAS BAKER.
Professor W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., F.S.A.
J. G. GREENWOOD, LL.D.

Of the Council:

WM. E. A. AXON, F.R.S.L.
J. EGLINGTON BAILEY, F.S.A.
C. T. TALLENT-BATEMAN.
J. P. EARWAKER, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE ESDAILE.
NATHAN HEYWOOD.
EDWARD KIRK.
ROBERT LANGTON, F.R.H.S.
Rev. E. F. LETTS, M.A.
H. COLLEY MARCH, M.D.
ALBERT NICHOLSON.
J. HOLME NICHOLSON, M.A.
Rev. J. H. STANNING, M.A.
CHARLES W. SUTTON.
W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

Treasurer:

W. A. COPINGER, F.S.A.

Honorary Secretary:

GEORGE C. YATES, F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester.

The Chairman offered to the members his sincere and hearty congratulations on the progress which the Society had made since its establishment. He thought those of them who had had experience of the history of societies would agree that the progress, both in the increasing number of members and in the extent and quality of the work done by this Society, had been of an exceedingly gratifying kind, and one that had not been surpassed in the history of similar associations. That was very gratifying, because it might have been thought that Manchester was not the most suitable or congenial atmosphere for an association of archæologists. We must not forget that this was a county association; indeed the title showed that they were a Society of two

counties, namely, of Lancashire and Cheshire. It was universally acknowledged that there had always been about Cheshire a vast amount of antiquarian interest. A great deal had been done in relation to the history and archæology of Cheshire, and it was certainly gratifying to us to remember that the two historians of that county were Manchester men, namely, Mr. George Ormerod, whose work was a classic of its kind, and Mr. Earwaker, the historian of East Cheshire, who had thrown a flood of new light upon certain points in the history of that county. Therefore something had been done to elucidate the history of archæology of Cheshire. With respect to Lancashire, its interest, certainly to the majority of people, was not chiefly archæological. Many persons got their ideas of Lancashire, he was afraid, either from what they saw from the window of a railway train as they entered one of the stations in Manchester, or a mere casual survey of some unpleasant district such as Ancoats. Those of us who are Lancashire born and have a local patriotism know that the real Lancashire is a very different thing from that. Whilst there is a smoky Lancashire, with its workshops, forges, and factors, there is also another Lancashire of hills and fells and ancient castles and halls. Without any wish to disparage the great work which had been accomplished by Lancashire antiquaries in the past, it was still true that much more remained to be done, and there was a fair chance of distinction for anyone who took up the work with earnestness and sincerity. Referring to the cotton trade of Lancashire, he said that its past history had yet to be written.

Friday, January 15th, 1886.

Meeting at Chetham's Library, Mr. J. Holme Nicholson in the chair.

A paper on "The Premonstratensian Abbey of Cockersand," by Mr. W. O. Roper, was read by Mr. Yates, Hon. Secretary (see p. 26). Mr. Roper offered to pay the expense

which would be incurred if the Society could obtain permission for the site of the ancient building to be excavated. The proposed excavation of the ruins and Mr. Roper's offer were referred for consideration to the Council.

Mr. W. Harrison read a paper on "The Development of the Turnpike System in Lancashire and Cheshire (see p. 80).

Mr. George Esdaile read a paper on "The Orientation of Churches in England, with special reference to those in the counties of Lancashire and Yorkshire."

Mr. R. Langton exhibited a mass of silver pennies of Edwards II. and III., found at Strait-Bargate, Boston, Lincolnshire.

Mr. G. Esdaile exhibited a supposed portrait of Sir Thomas Lowe, Lord Mayor of London, 1604; and a small gold gorget clasp, found at Westbury, Wilts, in August, 1885.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited some leaden tokens and abbey pieces of the sixteenth century.

James Duncan, M.B., Ashton-under-Lyne, was elected a member.

Friday, February 5th, 1886.

Meeting held in the Schoolroom at Chetham's Hospital, Mr. C. W. Sutton in the chair.

Mr. R. Langton read "Some Notes on Church Restoration" (see p. 50).

Mr. S. E. Haworth read a paper on "Dedications of Ancient Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire."

Dr. H. Colley March read "Remarks on the Futhorc Tir, a new theory of the Fylfot," illustrated with a series of large diagrams (see p. 1).

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a collection of pamphlets and engravings relating to Peterloo.

Mr. G. Esdaile and Mr. C. W. Sutton exhibited interesting local works; the former showing some MS. sermons by the Rev. M. Olerenshaw, minister of Mellor, *circa* 1773-1800.

New members elected: William Turner and J. P. Pattinson, B.A.

Friday, March 5th, 1886.

Meeting at Chetham's Library, Mr. John Eglington Bailey in the chair.

The Chairman referred in sympathetic terms to the death of Mr. Richard Hanby, the late Governor of Chetham's Hospital; and on the motion of Mr. W. E. A. Axon, seconded by Mr. R. Langton, a resolution was passed condoling with the relatives of Mr. Hanby, and expressing the sense of those present of the loss which lovers of learning, and philanthropy had suffered by his lamented death.

Mr. David Headridge exhibited a stone hammer found by him, a year or two ago, at Baguley, Cheshire.

Mr. J. B. Robinson submitted a banker's receipt for money paid on shares in the intended Manchester Ship Canal, in the year 1825.

Mr. T. Oxley exhibited interesting photographs of the lake dwellings of New Guinea.

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited a curious piece of carving from Trafford Hall, and several old legal documents.

Mr. H. Musgrave Briddon exhibited ancient Greek gold coins from the Sahara.

Mr. G. Esdaile exhibited portraits of Cobham, Gower, and Wiclif.

Mr. J. E. Bailey exhibited a volume of tracts from the old Bradshaw Library at Marple Hall, formed by Henry Bradshaw and his younger brother, the regicide John, who, according to the traditional rhyme, "did that which all the world did wonder at." Henry has written his name upon the first tract, and also upon another which was penned, in 1648, by a very famous Lancashire man, William Ashurst, Esq., a member of the Long Parliament. Henry Bradshaw's monogram is at the end of the book. The bulk of the tracts belong to the years 1658 and 1659, relating to the posture of things when the army officers held sway. The series seems to close at the month of the death of the judge (October, 1659), whose custom was to buy the tracts as they

appeared in London, and to send them to his brother at Marple. In several of those in the volume under notice the judge himself is mentioned, particularly in one relating to Westminster School, then under the management of Dr. Busby, "My Lord Bradshaw" being one of the governors. Busby was the man for whom Sir Roger de Coverley expressed so high an admiration: "A great man! he whipped my grandfather; a very great man! I should have gone to him myself if I had not been a Blockhead!" The tract introduces this very failing of the Westminster Orbilius, who accused the under-master of not using the rod enough. The latter pleaded that some order should be taken to limit and restrain the exorbitance of punishment, that poor little boys might not receive from thirty to sixty lashes at a time for small and inconsiderable faults. The curious fact here comes to light that Mr. Busby's nephew, John, was the appointed lictor of the school, "who did abuse the liberty of whipping to such an excess and extravagance of fancy that I do grieve for the practice."

The Chairman, referring to the papers set down for reading, said the Society was to be congratulated that it had for the evening such excellent guides to scenes and topics outside the bounds of the parish beadle, who too often regulated the studious pursuits of antiquaries. He then called the attention of the members to a collection of rare books on the table on numismatics, recently added to the Chetham Library, and

Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., exhibited and described a series of large photographs of Roman remains at Nimes and Arles, the narrative and the views being alike instructive and entertaining.

Mr. Charles F. Collmann followed with a paper on "One of the Earliest Lists of Printed Books" (see p. 115). A photograph of the list was given to each of the members present by Mr. Collmann.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman read a paper on "The Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Justice" (see p. 61).

New members elected: Robert Cecil Potter, George F. Buckley, Thomas Bagshaw.

Friday, April 2nd, 1886.

Meeting at the Chetham Library, Lieut.-Col. H. Fishwick, F.S.A., in the chair.

On the motion of Mr. H. H. Sales, seconded by the Rev. E. F. Letts, a vote expressing the regret of the Society at the death of its member, Mr. Edward Kirk, and offering condolence with his family in their bereavement, was passed.

Mr. T. Letherbrow exhibited a collection of his drawings of Old Manchester, and an oil painting of Barlow Hall.

Mr. C. T. Tallent-Bateman exhibited a curious and elaborately-worked landscape design in human hair.

Mr. G. Esdaile exhibited an early edition of *De Imitatione Christi*, &c.

Mr. G. C. Yates showed a curious oak carving and old Dutch tiles from Strangeways Hall; also a cast of the face of one of the Byrom family.

Dr. F. Renaud read a short paper on "An Early Fourteenth Century Tiled Floor in Prior Crawden's Chapel at Ely," which he illustrated with a series of drawings.

Mr. Yates read a paper on "Wycoller Hall, near Colne," prepared by Major-General Owen (see p. 173).

Mr. J. P. Earwaker read a paper on "The Agecroft Charters and Deeds" (see p. 199).

New members elected: Major-General Owen, William Grimshaw, W. Harold Radford, Leonard Tatham.

Friday, April 16th, 1886.

Meeting held at Chetham's Library, the Rev. E. F. Letts in the chair.

Mr. J. E. Bailey exhibited an old pack-horse bell.

Mr. D. F. Howorth exhibited and described a series of gold, silver, and copper coins of Travancore.

Mr. Herbert Sherriff exhibited ancient soap-stone gods from Foochow.

Mr. G. C. Yates showed silver tokens of Stockport, Bridlington, and other towns.

Mr. John Hirst, F.R.M.S., exhibited and described specimens of books of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries, which, at first sight, appeared to be entirely in manuscript, which were shown to be largely stencil work. There were four MSS. exhibited, but one was only to show that the latest stencil specimen in date, though made for a place in Germany called Ilbenstadt and not marked on the maps, yet was of sufficient importance to have a "use" of its own. The latest in date, Mr. Hirst said, is a *Graduale*, and on very stout paper, bound in stamped pigskin. The text is very correctly and truly executed, and is entirely in stencil work. The musical notes are on five lines, are also stencil work, so are the ornaments and clefs. The clefs are also indicated by a yellow line for the alto and a red line for the bass. The title contains a chronogram, 1725, and is surrounded by a stencil border. The colophon also has a chronogram in red letters, 1726. The second volume is of vellum, eight and a half by six and a quarter inches, and dedicated to Gerard a Groesbeck, Prince Bishop of Liege, in Belgium. The first part is only partially of stencil work; but the second, consisting of thirty-three pages, is entirely so, both text and initial letters; the curves of the letters are unconnected, just as are the stencils on the bales as they proceed from a packing warehouse of to-day. The writer is Robertus Querceutus Cameraceu canonicus S. Johannis Evangeliste Leodien. The third specimen is entitled *Supplementum ad Antiphonium Romanum*, and consists of thirty leaves of very stout paper, nineteen and a quarter by fourteen and a quarter inches. It was made for and belonged to the Cistercian Monastery of St. Mary, at Morimundi, near Milan. The numbering of the pages

was done in the sixteenth century, but the stencil work is contemporary with the earliest printed books. The musical lines of four only are ruled, the notes are stencil work; the initial letters are not so done, but the greater part of the text is good stencil work. These specimens were exhibited with the hope that possessors of MSS. would ascertain what remaining books were yet in existence produced by this peculiar method.

Mr. W. S. Churchill read a paper entitled "Groups of Coins with a History" (see p. 155).

Mr. William E. A. Axon read a paper entitled "What was the First Book Printed in Manchester?" (see p. 13).

Mr. N. Heywood read a paper on "The Early Coinage of Henry Plantagenet," specimens of which he exhibited (see p. 16).

Mr. John Owen, of Stockport, was unanimously elected an honorary member of the Society.

Thursday, May 13th, 1886.

OLD HALLS NEAR ROCHDALE.

The members of the Society visited the old halls in the neighbourhood of Rochdale, known as Clegg Hall, Belfield Hall, and Newbold Hall. Short papers were read by Messrs. J. Holme Nicholson, George Esdaile, and George C. Yates (Honorary Secretary). The information given about Clegg Hall included a graphic description of the interesting old Jacobean pile, which is stone built and of many gables. With the exception of the building up of some of the large mullioned and transomed windows, the exterior of the house has suffered little change since its erection by Theophilus Ashton, a successful lawyer of Rochdale, about the year 1620, and one of the Ashtons of Little Clegg, on the site of an ancient building said to have been erected in the reign of Stephen by Bernulf de Clegg and Quenilda his wife. The Cleggs

owned both Great and Little Clegg. The former was conveyed by an heiress to one of the family of Belfield in 1491, and in 1602 an heiress of the Belfields carried it to the Ashtons, one of whom was the builder of the present hall, which, by a later marriage, passed to the Haworth family. Another heiress carried the hall and estate to the Hultons. By subsequent sales the property passed to the Entwistles, and from them to the Fentons, the present owners. In *Placita de quo warranto, Lanc. E.*, i. p. 607, some mention is made of Matthew Clogg or de Clegg, as the name is indifferently spelt. The glory of the old pile has for some time at least "suffered an abatement," as it is occupied partly as a country inn and partly as a cottage. The prosperity of the district has tended to its decay; the proximity of a factory, some cottages, and the Rochdale canal have been fatal to its occupancy as a residence of importance. Little Clegg passed out of the family in 1816. Belfield Hall is one of the few halls in this neighbourhood built with a "quad." Portions of the older building, of about the time of Henry VII. or VIII., remain; and although the estate had been in the possession of the Belfield family from the time of Henry III. or Edward I., the name is not extant as that of a family in the district. The Belfields intermarried with the gentry of Lancashire, for, according to Flower, whose Visitation has been published by the Chetham Society, Alexander Barlow (son of Alexander Barlow, of Barlow), living in 1567, married Elizabeth, one of the daughters and heirs of Rauf Bellfield, of Clegge. Rauf Belfelde, according to the same authority, married Elizabeth, daughter of Edmond Hopwood, of Hopwood. Belfield subsequently came into the possession of the Butterworths, and the last heir male, Alexander, left his estates to Richard Townley, of Rochdale. This Alexander is doubtless the same alluded to in *Originalia*, anno 6 Annæ, rotulo 45, and given more fully in an account of the same proceedings in the thirtieth report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, 1869, p. 419, Harl. MSS., 7,347, 24th June, 1707, as follows:—"For Sir

Samuel Barnardiston, of Brightwell Hall, co. Suffolk, baronet, Samuel Barnardiston, of Gray's Inn, co. Middlesex, Esq., and Thomas Daeth, of London, merchant, surviving executors of the will of Arthur Barnardiston, late of Hogsden, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, co. Midd., Esquire, deceased. Grant of (inter alia) a capital messuage called Belfield, in Butterworth, co. Lancaster, and two water corn mills, and sixty acres of land, meadow, and pasture to the same messuage belonging in Butterworth, now or late in occupation of Alexander Butterworth or his assigns, of the clear yearly value of £110; a cottage in Manchester, co. Lanc., now or late in the occupation of Richard Baguley, gentleman, or his assigns, of the clear yearly value of four shillings; a messuage called Dutton Hall, in Ribchester, co. Lanc., and five acres of land, meadow, and pasture to the same belonging, now or late in the occupation of Jennetta Dewhurst, widow, or her assigns of the clear yearly value of 20s.;—all which premises were late the estate of Alexander Butterworth, Esquire, and were seized into the hands of his late Majesty King Charles the Second, by virtue of an extent out of the Court of Exchequer, founded upon four bonds of £2,200 each, and all arrears thereof from 12 Decr. 28 Charles II. To hold the same as long as the said lands shall remain in her Majesty's hands by virtue of such extent, at the yearly rent of 3s. and 4d. Westm., 24 June, 6 Anne." The other possessions of Alexander Butterworth, and mentioned in the above proceedings, show that he was the owner of land or buildings in Huddersfield, Spotland, Crofthead in Butterworth, Butterworth, Castleton, and Ribchester. Alexander Butterworth dying in 1728 left his estates to Richard Townley, as before mentioned. Colonel Richard Townley rebuilt the south side of the quadrangle about 1750. In this part are some portraits of the Butterworths. The premises now belong to Mr. Clement Beswick Royds, of Littleborough. Of Newbold Hall, the seat of the family of that name for many generations till 1627, little could be seen, as the few remains of the old pile are almost crowded out by the

modern requirements. The estate was "carried by a distaff" from the Schofields to the Croxtons, and, after passing through many hands, was bought about forty years ago by Mr. Samuel Newbold, of Bury. The party was under the leadership of Dr. Colley March, of Rochdale, and evidently enjoyed the excursion in spite of the wet weather.

Saturday, May 22nd, 1886.

WARBURTON OLD CHURCH AND ST. WERBURGH: AGDEN HALL AND HIGH LEGH.

The members of the Society to the number of fifty, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, went by rail to Heatley, and thence drove to the old and new churches at Warburton, Oughtrington Hall, Agden Hall, High Legh, to East and West Halls, the residences of Lieutenant-Colonel Harry Cornwall Legh and Captain Egerton Leigh, returning to Manchester by rail from Altrincham. The party were received at Warburton Old Church by the Rector (the Rev. G. Egerton H. Warburton, M.A.), who welcomed them to the old "black and white" church, and pointed out many features of interest—the old font, the hour-glass holder, and the stone coffin with its massive lid. When assembled in the old church,

Mr. J. E. Bailey, F.S.A., gave an outline of the career of St. Werburgh. He said that a visit to such a shrine prompted some reference to the saintly lady who had given her name to the church, to the place (Werburgh's town, or Warburton), and to the family (de Warburton). The life of St. Werburgh had been commemorated in very uncouth verse by one of the Chester monks named Bradshawe, whose work, made up from a "Passionary" in his monastery, was first printed in black letter in the year 1521 by Richard Pynson (the first introducer of the Roman letter into England); and in the year 1848 it was reproduced in vol. xvi. of the Chetham series of publications, being one of the most remarkable

books connected with Cheshire. St. Werburgh was one of the celebrated Saxon saints, and was associated with the establishment of the first nunneries in England. By birth and associations she belonged to the neighbouring county of Stafford, being the daughter of Wulfhere, King of the Mercians, whose court was at Stone. This king is said by some to have been the founder of Chester Monastery as a house for religious Saxon maids. He reigned A.D. 657-675. Under the influence of her mother Eremenilda, daughter of the King of Kent, St. Werburgh was baptised, as were her brothers, into the Christian faith. From her earliest years, incited by her mother's example, she displayed a high degree of sanctity in her conduct. She became a woman of great beauty; and amongst those who sought her hand was a nobleman named Werbode. Disregarding the advances and rich presents of her wooers, she determined to enter an arena, where (to use Milton's phrase) not without dust and heat the eternal garland was to be run for. She became an inmate of the monastery of Ely under her relatives St. Audry and St. Etheldreda; and she was conveyed thither with much pomp:

> The Kynge on his journey rode forthe royally;
> The Quene him folowed, as is the custome;
> Werburge succeeded them consequently;
> The peeres and his counseyll knewe well theyr rowme,
> Dukes, erles, lordes, and many a worthy barowne,
> Knights, squyers, gentyls, of her kynred also,
> With ladyes and gentylwomen and servantes both two.

At Ely St. Werburge acquired fame for her piety; and her sanctity was evidenced by miracles. When her uncle Ethelred succeeded to the throne of the Mercians, he summoned the pious nun to take charge of the newly-founded nunneries of the kingdom. Mercia then comprised five bishoprics, extending from Lincoln to Dorchester in Oxfordshire; and one of the sees, Lichfield, was presided over by St. Chad, who had been promoted by Wulfhere and was associated with the royal family. Assisted by the king, who was the founder of St. John the Baptist's College at Chester, St.

Werburgh reorganised the nunneries at Trentham and Hanbury in Staffordshire, and at Weedon in Northamptonshire (where also was another palace), and she ministered their affairs. She was consecrated abbess by Serwolf, Bishop of Lichfield. Her conduct is said to have been a continued example of all the virtues, and her fame was acknowledged far and wide. Her death took place at Trentham nunnery, 3rd February, 699; she was buried by her own desire at Hanbury, to the disappointment of the house at Trentham. The 3rd of February was kept as hers when she was canonised, and under that date an account of her will be found in Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, and in Chambers' *Book of Days*. In 708, when her grave was opened by King Coelred and his courtiers, the body was without signs of corruption; it was replaced in a rich shrine, which became the scene of pilgrimages and miracles. The memory of her was still keen about two centuries later, when she was known beyond the bounds of Mercia. About the year 875, in King Alfred's time, a great incursion of the Danes took place; Trentham and Weedon monasteries were burnt, and the invaders came up as far as Repton, which was five miles from Hanbury, and they treated the inhabitants with savage ferocity. The monastery at Hanbury, concerned about St. Werburgh's remains, hereupon decided—

> To take the shryne with great humilitie
> And bring it to Chestre from perill and enmyte.

The coming to Chester and the reception of the body is described:

> Ferst was ordeyned a solemne procession
> With crosses, and banners, and surges clere lyght;
> The belles were tolled for ioye and deuotion,
> The ministries of God in coopes redy dight,
> With censours of silver to ensense her body right;
> All prestis and clerkes redy to say and synge,
> Proceeded in order this holy virgin praysyng.

There were also trains of lords, barons, and "venerable virgins," with lilies in their hands "coronate with chastity." The citizens also took part in the reception, the streets being

ornamented with flowers, and the mansions and halls being royally decorated and hanged with arras. Her shrine was placed in the monastery, then called after St. Peter and St. Paul, but which now came to be spoken of as St. Werburgh's:

> In the Abbaye of Chestre she is shryned rychely
> Pryores and lady of that holy place,
> The cheyf protectryce of the said monastery,
> Long before the Conquest, by devyne grace.

Other miracles recorded by Bradshaw were attributed to her presence in these precincts. Richard, the second Earl of Chester, ascribed to this saint his deliverance in a great emergency when confronted by the Welsh; and his Constable William, son of Nigel, going to his assistance, and praying to St. Werburgh, the river Dee dried up, enabling him to rescue his master. In memory of the event William gave the village of Newton, near Chester, to the monastery, and founded the Abbey of Norton on the Dee in memory of the saint. To this day the ford where his men crossed the river is called the Constable's Sands. Upon a later occasion, when the city got on fire, the shrine of the saint was brought out by the monks and carried in procession through the burning streets. On another occasion Ulminus, a canon of Chester, who took pleasure in hunting and hawking, broke his leg asunder by a fall from his horse, and was made whole by a vision from St. Werburgh, to whom in his agony the wounded ecclesiastic prayed. Archdeacon Rogers threw doubt upon these miracles, which, he said, were "fabulose and lyinge." Bradshaw incidentally records in his poem some interesting particulars of life in Chester in old times. The historic glories of the monastery are duly chronicled in his halting verses; and he ends his poem by appeals to the citizens and others never to be ashamed of their sacred edifice. The next generation saw its fall. The shrine was turned into an episcopal throne, where remained figures commemorating the saint and her kindred, which were described by William Cowper in 1749. *The Monastery of St. Werburgh* was the subject of a privately-printed poem,

published anonymously in Manchester in 1823, from the scholarly pen of the Rev. W. P. Greswell, the biographer of the early typographers, and for sixty-three years incumbent of Denton. He was a native of Chester; and in much the same spirit as Henry Bradshaw, but with more elegance, he reviewed the history of the monastery, "wonder of after times—of Cestria's sires the pride." In the fourteenth stanza he introduces the patron saint: "'Tis she—Werburgha fair—the Genius of the place!"

Mr. George Esdaile gave an epitome of the history of the manor from Norman times, showing how a moiety was for a period in the possession of the canons of the order of Premonstrants, who had a religious house at Warburton, which was afterwards merged in the abbey of Cockersand, county Lancaster, whilst the family of Dutton, who afterwards took the name of Warburton, re-acquired the moiety, except eight bovates of land which formed the endowment; since which time, some twenty-four generations, the lands and advowson have been in the Warburton family. Mr. Esdaile read extracts from a MS. pedigree of the family, and gave some interesting details of Peter de Warburton—Justice of Common Pleas, 44 Elizabeth to James I.—and his nine daughters, who were married to some of the noblest men of Cheshire—to Wilbraham, to Egerton, to Brereton, to Stanley, to Marbury, to Trentham, and to another branch of the Warburtons. Mr. Esdaile also gave No. 4 from the Welsh Records, 2 Henry VIII., showing that John Werberton, Knt., owned the manors of Werberton, Arley, Sutton near Aston, Appulton, Aston near Pikmere, and Budworth near Aston, and four water mills, one wich of twelve leads, two hundred and seventy messuages, five thousand acres of land, two hundred acres of meadow, one thousand acres of pasture, four hundred acres of wood, forty acres of heath, one hundred acres of moor, forty acres of marsh, five hundred acres of turf, and £30 rent in Werberton, Sutton near Aston, Budworth near Aston, Hull, Appulton, Stokton, Aston near Pikmere, Lymme, Ughtryngton, Rediche, Leghe, Bolynton, North-

wich, Hatton near Derisbury, Stretton, Bradley, Nethir Walton, Nethir Whitley, Norcotes, Chester, Harpesford, Sale, Neuton near Derisbury, Halome, Halton, Comberbache, Overtabley, and Nethirtabley (2 Hen. VIII., memb. 8). In the same year and in the same membrane is recorded a deed between the said Sir John Werberton and William, Bishop of Lincoln, covenanting that Piers Warburton, son and heir apparent of the said Sir John should marry Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Richard Wynyngton, of Wynyngton, deceased; and making provision for the bride during her possible widowhood; and settling all the estates upon the children of the marriage, excepting those charged with the jointure and dower of dame Jane, wife of Sir John; those charged with an annuity to Piers, brother of Sir John; those to the value of twenty marks intended to be given by Sir John to his second son John; those held for life by John Warburton, uncle to Sir John; those assigned for the marriage of Glyn and Dowte, his daughters; and those to the yearly value of twenty shillings intended to be given for the maintenance of a priest to sing at the altar of St. Katherine, in the parish church of Budworth. The said bishop to deliver to Sir John all grants of the wardship and marriage of the said Elizabeth which he had received of the king, Henry VII., and all leases that he had of the king of lands, &c., pertaining to the inheritance of the said Elizabeth. The "consideration" to the bishop for his agreement thereto was four hundred marks, in yearly payments of £26. 3s. 4d., to commence on Elizabeth attaining fourteen years, and to cease on her death without heirs by Piers. The will of Sir John Werberton also recorded and made in conformity with the above deed.

The new Church of St. Werburgh, at Warburton, was next visited. It is a fine structure, designed by Mr. Douglas, architect, of Chester, and is situated at some little distance from the old one. Services are performed alternately in either, to meet the spiritual wants of the parish.

Oughtrington Hall, formerly the seat of the Leigh-

Traffords, now the property and residence of Mr. George Dewhurst, was taken en route. The greatest object of interest in the grounds was a gigantic oak, a veritable monarch of the wood. Its size may be guessed by the fact that seven members could just encircle its bole and join hands. Its age must be counted by centuries. It is possibly the last survivor of the Ake-den.

Agden Hall, the residence of Mr. Charles Lister, was the next stopping place. Mr. and Mrs. Lister provided tea for their antiquarian brethren, after which a meeting took place on the lawn in front of the old gabled hall, Professor Boyd Dawkins presiding, and Mr. Esdaile read a paper on the manor and its owners. He said Agden was not mentioned in *Domesday Book*. The name had been variously spelt Aketon, Acton, and Agden. In the time of Henry III. the owner of one moiety was Simon de Lee, whose granddaughter was married to William Rag, who assumed the more euphonius name of the place, Aketon, in 1270. The manor continued in the family till Ellen Aketon (the eldest of the four daughters of William de Aketon, the last male of line) married John Danyers or Daniel, on whose decease she married Thomas Warburton; after the death of her second husband she covenanted to settle all her lands in Agden upon her granddaughter Ellen (daughter of her son, Thomas Daniel or Danyers); deed dated 2 Henry IV., 1401. Ellen the heiress was married to William le Venables. This moiety was subject to the barony of Kinderton. The other moiety was held of the barony of Dunham Masci, and at an early date belonged to the Aketon family, but by the marriage of Agnes, daughter of Jone and Robert de Aketon, with John Leech, it was conveyed away from the name. Agnes, then a widow, in 1418 sold to Sir J. Savage, and his successor, Sir Thomas Savage, Bart., sold the same to George Venables of Agden, 17 Jac., 1619, thus uniting the moieties with the exception of Ousingcroft Farm, formerly granted away. The William de Venables who married the heiress Ellen and so acquired the moiety first mentioned was the

grandson of Hugh Venables, Baron of Kinderton. In 1727, Elizabeth, the only daughter of George Venables, of Agden, was married to Philip Touchet Chetwode, son of Sir John Chetwode, Bart., of Whitley, co. Chester, and Oakley, co. Stafford. The Chetwode family still possess the estates.

A vote of thanks for the cordial hospitality shown by Mr. Charles Lister, J.P., and Mrs. Lister—moved by the Rev. J. E. Odgers, M.A., and seconded by Mr. H. H. Sales, and put to the meeting by Professor Boyd Dawkins—was carried by acclamation.

The next place visited was the ancient home of the Leghs, at High Legh, where, with the well-known liberality of the family, the magnificent collection of objects of virtu and art were thrown open. Those who cared to look back so far were able to recognise some of the glories of the Manchester Art Treasures Exhibition of 1857, now occupying their old accustomed positions. A brief list of the most important may be given. No. 65 in the *Art Treasures Catalogue*, A circular picture representing a Nativity, by Fra Lippo Lippi. No. 99, A Holy Family, painted by Pacchiarotto in 1535. No. 131, Portrait of Pope Julius II., by Raffaelle. It was on the invitation of this pope that the artist went to Rome, in 1508, and began his frescoes in the Vatican in the Camera della Segnatura. These he finished about 1511. No. 204, The Marriage of St. Catherine, by Bernardino Luini. No. 720, Guillaume le Taciturne et l'Artist, by Karel du Jardin, No. 744, A Landscape, by Salvator Rosa. No. 884, St. Catherine, by Luca Longhi. No. 888, A Grand Landscape, by Swanevelde. Nor must be forgotten a gem from the collection of Sir George Warrender (No. 422, Smith's Catalogue), we allude to The Nine-pin Players, by David Teniers. This was No. 1018 in the Art Treasures Exhibition. One which occupied a prominent place amongst the sketches and original drawings by old masters was No. 61, a highly-finished miniature, in colours, on vellum, The Agony in the Garden, by Timoteo della Vite, a gem of the Umbrian School. Vite, originally a jeweller and scholar of Francia (who

also was a jeweller, goldsmith, and medalist), painted first about 1503, and afterwards became an assistant to Raffaelle. There was also a charming example of the Florentine School in the work of Cigoli. In the same room was The Offering up of Isaac, by Andrea del Sarto. A magnificent *chef d'œuvre* of Rubens, the canvas alive with the most lovely angels, painted only as that great master could paint. Examples of Vandyke, Albani, Bonifazio, Campi, Jan van Goyen, Rembrandt, Giulio Romano, Razzi, Hooge, and last, not least, a masterpiece by Philip Wouvermans, with the inevitable white horse. The family is rich in portraits of ancestors, by Lely, Reynolds, Gainsborough, Hopner, and others. The screens, loaded with priceless miniatures, by many of the rarest pencils the world has seen, deservedly attracted great attention. The octagon boudoir contained many rare examples of oriental china. There were also many fine specimens of Japanese and Chinese cabinets of various styles; fine and picturesque marquetrie in tables and other forms. The elaborately-carved presses, cabinets, tables, and picture and mirror frames attracted much attention; one of the latter in the dining-room was worthy of Grinling Gibbons. The quaint old chapel was next visited. It is thus mentioned by Leycester: "Here is now a chappel of ease in this township, called High Legh Chapel, within the parish of Rosthern, which was built by Thomas Legh of High Legh de East Hall esquire, anno domini 1581, as I find the year, his name and coat of arms engraven in the stone on the side of the same chappel." It has been thoroughly restored, and a tablet has been erected with the following inscription: "To the Glory of God and in memory of George Cornwall Legh of High Legh who died June 16 1877 aged 73 years. This Chapel was restored and the Sanctuary added in the year of our Lord 1884 by his nephew Lieut. Colonel Harry Cornwall Legh His father sometime chaplain of this Chapel who died Novemberr 24th 1847 aged 36 years." A coat of arms, possibly the one described by Leycester, is now over the west porch.

Thursday, May 27th, 1886.

VISIT TO STOCKPORT.

On the evening of the 27th May the members of the Society visited Stockport, where they were met by Mr. Henry Heginbotham and other gentlemen, and shown various sites of interest. The Mayor (Mr. W. Leigh) kindly placed the Court House at the disposal of the Society, and prior to proceeding to visit the most important places of antiquity in the town, the company had the satisfaction of inspecting a number of valuable and interesting relics which had been collected by Mr. Heginbotham and his coadjutors. Amongst these mention may be made of a fine collection of local documents, including a copy of the original charter granted *circa* 1206, the copy itself dating from about 1530; also a series of court rolls, a volume of the town's records, &c. From the libraries of Mr. Heginbotham, Rev. P. M. Herford, and others, had been drawn a valuable and interesting selection of early-printed Stockport books. Art was represented by two local views, one being Shuttleworth's painting of the Parish Church as it formerly stood, and the other a painting of ancient Stockport, lent by the wardens of St. Peter's Church. The Stockport brank, or scold's bridle, was an object of much interest, as was also a flint and steel with tinder and match boxes attached. On a table at the end of the room was to be seen an excellent specimen of an ancient quern, the peculiarity about it being that it has two hoppers, whilst most of those now known have but one. This was found at Bramall by Mr. John Owen, and is the property of Mr. Heginbotham. On another table were to be seen copies of the first and last issues of the *Stockport Advertiser*, the first being dated March 29th, 1822. The company afterwards proceeded to inspect the evidences of antiquity as seen in the central part of the town. The first point of interest was the Roman road on the south side of the

Pendlebury Orphanage, and coming into Tiviot Dale, nearly opposite Hanover Chapel. This, Mr. Heginbotham explained, had at one time been the highway from Stockport to Manchester, its continuation in the direction of Stockport being by a decline across the space now in front of the station, and through the river by a ford to the Castle-yard. Mr. Heginbotham directed the attention of the visitors to the remains of the steps cut in the solid rock at the bend of the river, opposite the station, on the Lancashire side, these having at one time led from a house of the Tattons of Wythenshawe which stood at that point. After a few minutes' inspection of Lancashire Bridge, an examination was made of the exterior of Underbank Hall, now occupied by the Manchester and Liverpool Banking Company. The excellent state of preservation in which the hall now stands was remarked by many of the visitors. Adlington Hall, in Chestergate, which formerly belonged to the Leghs of Adlington, and is now in the possession of Mr. William Smith, also appeared to have warded off decay most successfully. Passing up Little Underbank and Mealhouse Brow, a few minutes were devoted to ruminating on what may have been the history of the dungeon, the entrance to which still exists under Mr. Parkes' shop. The last place was the Parish Church, where the visitors were put in possession of some interesting data. In the vestry the rector had placed for the inspection of the party the parish registers and the church plate, together with many other objects of value. The registers received special attention, and particular interest was taken in the entry of the baptism of Judge Bradshaw. So much time had been occupied in making the tour of inspection to this point that only a passing glance could be taken at the site of the ancient castle.

The company reassembled in the court room, and on the motion of Mr. C. W. Sutton, seconded by Mr. E. W. Bulkeley, the Rev. P. M. Herford, vicar of Gatley, took the chair.

Mr. Henry Heginbotham then read the following paper on "The Early History of Stockport:"

Stockport is placed upon the river Mersey. It is undisputed that it was occupied by the Romans. The Roman road from Manchester to Stockport descended into the valley of the Mersey by a rapid decline from the high lands on the Lancashire side behind the Tiviot Dale Station. It then crossed the river in front of the station, the approach on each side being paved. My highly esteemed friend, the late Dr. William Rayner, who resided opposite, has informed me on several occasions that he had often seen a part of the paved way on Sunday morning in a dry summer. After the passage of the river, the road ascended on the eastern side of the hill underneath the walls of the castle. It is very probable that the town of Stockport had its origin partly from the necessity for the frequent accommodation required by travellers waiting for the subsidence of the sudden floods to which the river was subject from its nearness to the hills, and partly from the wants of the retainers at the castle. About a hundred yards below the ford stood the town house of the Tattons of Wythenshawe, on the Lancashire side of the river, which was swept away a few years ago by the levelling tendencies of railways. This family kept a boat upon this portion of the river, which was exceedingly deep, for recreation and fishing. The steps leading from the mansion, cut in the solid rock, still remain. This pool was greatly frequented by fishermen, and in former times contained large quantities of salmon, trout, and smaller fishes. The fishing was strictly preserved, and the Court Leet Records contain instances in which offenders were heavily punished for taking salmon in the quiet season. When the silk mills were leased in 1732 the lord of the manor retained the right of fishing and the fish in all the water sluices. The castle was built upon a formidable rock, bold and prominent, placed so as effectually to command the river at the only fordable point in this neighbourhood, for as already said the river below was exceedingly deep,

and the rugged rocky banks rendered its passage there absolutely impossible. It is universally admitted that the castle here was held by the Romans, the only difference amongst historians is as to its extent. It formed an outpost to the great camp at Manchester, and most probably remained as a defence to the time of the Norman invasion, when the whole of this district was ruthlessly destroyed, and in nearly every instance in which places in this parish are mentioned in the Norman survey their descriptions are closed in the very expressive words "Wasta fuit," it was waste. The early history of the Stokeports is rather obscure, but there is no doubt there were lords of this town in the twelfth century and early in the thirteenth. The second Sir Robert de Stokeport, who was lord of Stockport from 1206 to 1239, conferred important privileges upon the town and made it a free borough by the grant of a charter, which is undated, but which may be safely referred to 1220, and is generally admitted to have been one of the first granted in this district. The original charter is not known to be in existence, but I have a copy which is the oldest known. This was evidently written in the early part of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, about the year 1530, and has upon it strong confirmatory endorsements. The endorsement referring to its authenticity runs thus: "This copie wee sawe examined with the originall deed, and it doth agree with the same, which we are ready to testifye whensoever we shalbe thereunto lawfully called.—Alexander Elcocke, Thos. Simkin." Simkin was parish clerk from 1597 to 1642. This charter, which provides for a strong local government, contains two very important provisions: First, that each burgess should have a perch of land to his house, an acre of land in the field, with other valuable privileges, on payment of a shilling a year to his lord; second, the burgesses should have the right to elect out of their own body a mayor or chief magistrate, who is styled in the Latin charter "Prepositus." This annual appointment fell in abeyance, and was annually made by the lord or his

steward; but in the reign of Queen Elizabeth the burgesses claimed their right to elect the mayor. The claim being resisted legal proceedings were commenced, and the subject was referred to arbitration. The award of the arbitrators still exists. A compromise was made, by which the lord was empowered to select four names from the list of burgesses from which the court leet should select the mayor. The terms of their award were acted upon until the appointment of the mayor was provided for in the Municipal Act of 1835. The court leet was held with all the usual formalities. The retiring mayors, by right, became aldermen for life, and took their rank by seniority. Records of the court were kept, which, during the early part of the civil war, were deposited for safety with the rector. His living, however, was sequestrated and his property seized. The court rolls are mentioned in the record of their proceedings, which are preserved in the British Museum, as being deposited in the hands of Alderman Harper. There seems to be no further official notice of their existence. Within the last few years a number have been found, and access to which has been kindly afforded to me, and I have been enabled by their examination to add considerably to the list of mayors of Stockport. This roll contains the first records of the court leet after the Restoration, extending from 1660 to 1667. To this roll considerable interest attaches, as there is upon the last year's record a similar endorsement to one which appears upon the back of the charter, the examination of both having been made by the commission appointed after the Restoration to investigate the cases of the Royalists whose property had been sequestrated by the agents of the Parliament, with a view to their being restored. The admission of burgesses was recorded on each roll, and a formal document on parchment was given on admission, recording the circumstances under which the burgess was admitted. I have one dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of King Henry the Eighth, 1544. Another, beautifully written, records the admission

of a burgess in the eleventh year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 1569. I have several similar records. In 1833 Parliament issued a commission of inquiry into the powers and privileges of the local courts with a view to the introduction of the Municipal Corporations Acts. It held its sittings in this room on October 25th and 26th in that year. The evidence they received is embodied in this volume of the reports, which I obtained through the courtesy of the librarian of the House of Commons, who kindly placed for my reference the various books in which any mention was made of this town, through the recommendation and introduction of Sir Edward Watkin, who has on all occasions most kindly facilitated my inquiries into the history of Stockport. This commission had laid before it many of the documents that I have submitted to you, and have fully referred to them in their report. The court leet was invested with the usual powers of punishing local crimes of the character usually possessed by such bodies. I find the following entries in the Records of the Court Leet of October 4th, 1664, 17 Charles II.: "Ordered likewise that the Lord of the Barrony doe put in good repaire the cage, the stockes, the rogues post, and the cuckstoole before Martinmas next *sub pœna*" v. li. The brank, or scold's bridle, must then have been in excellent condition, as it is not included in that resolution. It certainly was a most formidable instrument. Although of light construction, unlike many others, it was strengthened by side bars to the top of the head, and as the gag has at the end of the tongue-plate a bulb in which are eight sharp iron pins, its power upon the offending woman must have been most effectual, for the least pull upon the chain would inflict brutal injury upon the interior of the mouth of the victim. It is unlike most others for another feature, the chain is connected to the front of the instrument, and points to the inference that the wearer must have been led through the streets. There is no living proof of its having been used, but the collector of the tolls more than fifty years ago, and

recently deceased, informed me that it was placed in the hands of the contractor for the tolls, and hung in the market place each market day as a terror to evildoers, and that it was brought out on one occasion, to his knowledge, to a termagant woman to be applied, but that she was terrified into peace and obedience. There was formerly one in the possession of the authorities of the workhouse, which was sold for old iron. The river Mersey in former times, before the abstraction of the water from the Etherow portion for the supply of Manchester, was a formidable stream subject to high floods during stormy weather, in consequence of its great branches rising in the mountains at a short distance from Stockport. King, in his *Vale Royal*, written about the year 1612, says: "Runs Merzey with great force, or rather fury, under a great stone bridge." As the passage over the river has at all times been the chief means of communication from the north to the south of England, a bridge at this point appears to have been considered necessary for more than five hundred years, for we find as early as 1374 an entry in the Episcopal Registers at Lichfield, that the bishop granted a licence to Thomas, the son of Henry of Manchester, chaplain, that he might celebrate divine service in an oratory within his hermitage at the end of the bridge at Stockport. This oratory was most probably so fixed in order that the faithful might practically acknowledge their gratitude at having safely passed this dangerous stream. The bridge which existed in 1745 was blown down to intercept the progress of the rebel army, after which part of the present bridge was erected. Narrow as the present bridge is it has been widened on two subsequent occasions, and is now ill adapted for the traffic passing over it. At the end of the last century there was no Warren Street, and at the Cheshire side of the river there was an archway only allowing access to a narrow lane to one of the manorial mills. In Oulton's *Travellers' Guide*, dated 1805, the writer says: "Over the Mersey is a stone bridge founded on a red rock, with one arch allowed to be the largest in

the kingdom." Its span is fifty-seven feet three inches. Underbank Hall is one of those beautiful old structures which are rapidly passing away. From its construction it appears to have been built about the latter part of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, and has withstood the ravages of over three hundred and fifty years. Of course it has been well preserved by its possessors, more particularly by the family whose town residence it was for over three centuries. It was sold by the second Baron Alvanley, who rapidly disposed of his estates in the parish of Stockport. For this building he obtained three thousand guineas in 1823 from a banking company. The rest of the Arderne property in the parish of Stockport, including Harden Hall, was brought to the hammer in May, 1825, and realised the gross sum of £154,773. 10s. Underbank Hall is very picturesque. The three ornamental gables, with the porch and a small room above, its massive bressumers boldly corbelled, and its powerful tie-beams and queen-posts, leave no doubt of its great age. In 1775 it contained fifty-three windows, which had increased to sixty-nine in 1820, in which year the government taxes paid for it amounted to over £222. The interior formerly contained some interesting features, but the necessities of commercial undertakings frequently destroyed some of the finest ornaments of ancient architecture. The floral ceiling of the old drawing-room, now the banking-room, has given place to one made of panelled oak. The present banking-room contains a noble carved mantel-piece emblazoned with shields of arms. Across the Underbank, a little to the west of this building, there was formerly an arch or gateway, supposed to have been for the defence and protection of this building. A little further to the west is another half-timbered house, in most excellent preservation, belonging to William Smith, Esq., J.P., who carefully preserves the ancient house, which formerly belonged to the Leghs of Adlington. On passing up Little Underbank, the arch across the street gives the idea that it also formed one of the

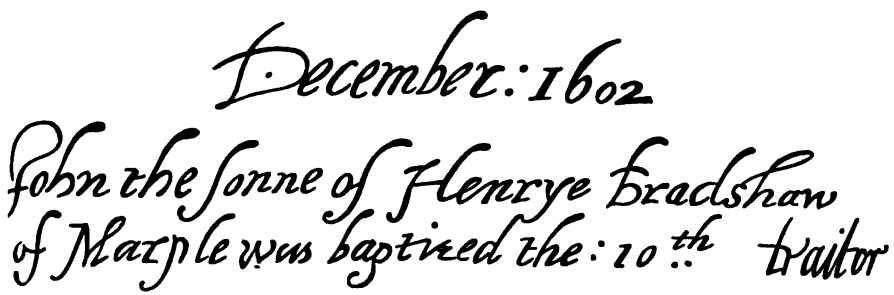
ancient landmarks; but this is a modern bridge which forms a connection between the high levels above each side of the thoroughfare. This street was formerly the highroad through Stockport from Manchester to London. Turning to the left we see Rostron Brow, which will afford us an excellent idea of the strength of the position of the market place and castle site for defence. The next brow to the market was formerly named Wynn Hill, then Dungeon Brow, because in its upper part the dungeon was situated. In a deed dated 1692, lent to me by the late Lord Vernon—whose kindness in assisting my inquiries into the history will always be gratefully remembered—this little prison is thus described: "One other little roome under the oulde Court-house, commonly called by the name of the dungeon." The present name of this approach is the Mealhouse Brow, so called because at that end of the market place the Mealhouse stood. The market place was formerly a large open space, occupied by stalls removable when required, where public meetings were held, and it was a great convenience. The site of the castle, which is at the west end of the market place, has been considerably lowered, by about three yards, in order to accommodate it to market purposes. The church is situated at the east end of the Market Place, where it is seen to great advantage. It would be impossible on this occasion to enter into a detailed history or description of this building. There must have been a church here at a very early period, as we find a Mattheus, clericus de Stokeport, one of the witnesses to a charter in the twelfth century, many years before the granting of the charter to Stockport. Of the earliest church there are no records or remains, but the structure which preceded the present, and of which the existing chancel formed a part, was erected early in the fourteenth century. The painting, by one of our early Stockport artists, William Shuttleworth, is pronounced to be an excellent representation of its general appearance and proportions. The church, built of red sandstone, the prevailing geological foundation of this

district, consisted of a tower, nave, and chancel, and was a venerable structure standing upon the site of the present church. The style of the architecture is "decorated," and its details, showing the strength of its buttresses with their moulded slopes and triangular heads, partaking somewhat of the early English characters, the diagonal position of the buttresses at the corner of the chancel, the high pitched roof with its parallel ribs and the strength of the timbers, the heavy stone mouldings of the cornice, but more particularly the predominance of the geometrical over the flowing tracery in some of the windows, unmistakeably prove that the date of its erection was about the year 1334. This opinion is also confirmed by the presence of the statue or full-length figure of Richard de Vernoun, who is represented as habited in his ecclesiastical robes with his hands folded on his breast, his head reposing on a lozenge-shaped cushion, and his feet on a dog couchant. Round the slab were carved these words, in ancient characters:—

ICI GIST RICHARD VERNOUN PERSONNE C'EST EGLISE.

(Here lies Richard de Vernoun, the Parson of this Church.) This statue has been recently restored, and unfortunately the old inscription has been covered and modernised. The nave reached from the west end to the chancel, and at the west end there was a fine decorated window of five lights, much larger and more graceful than the east window, and underneath it was the chief entrance to the church. The clerestory, extending the whole length of the nave, was embattled, and had on either side ten windows of four lights each. The clerestory and its windows, which were of the perpendicular style, appear to have been added early in the sixteenth century. The crest of the tower, which was built about a century later, was designed to correspond with it. The windows of the nave, like those in the chancel, were beautiful specimens of decorated work, presenting

great variety in their tracery. The chancel is, with the exception of the vestry, the only portion of the ancient fabric that remains, and for its size is admitted to be one of the best examples of the decorated style of architecture in the kingdom. It is difficult, however, at the present day to realise all its fine proportions, for much of the bold and massive work is hidden, the surface of the graveyard having been raised about half a yard by more than fifty thousand burials. Mr. Crowther, the architect of Manchester, with whom I had an interesting interview, showed me some drawings he made when a pupil in 1840, when two of the early windows then remained, and agreed with me in the opinion already expressed as to the age of this church. The communion service of this church is very handsome and valuable; one portion of it is at least as old as 1581. The



registers are very perfect and well preserved. They commence in 1584, and amongst other noteworthy characters contain the entry, as follows, of the baptism of Judge Bradshaw, who was born at Marple and baptised at Stockport: "December, 1602. John the sonne of Henrye Bradshaw of Marple was baptised the 10th. — Traitor." The entry shows that the word *traitor* has been subsequently added by some zealous Royalist (see *facsimile*). There were anciently four chapels in the nave, two at the eastern end of the south aisle, one named The Lady Chapel, belonging to the Davenports of Bramall, and the other The Chapel of

St. Peter, belonging to the Ardernes of Harden and Stockport, and two at the east end of the north aisle, The Chapel of St. Anthony, belonging to the Hydes of Norbury, now represented by the Leghs of Lyme, and All Hallows Chapel, belonging to the Duckenfields. The owners of these chapels were the four prepositi or posts of the church. In describing a number of the ancient manuscripts, Mr. Heginbotham observed that the general destruction of old local records was a public loss, as in many instances they furnished the only means of tracing the growth of the early population and the increase of material wealth. He exhibited two old town's books, rescued from the bonfire of a heap of public documents, relating to Stockport, and containing many reports of town's meetings from 1718 to 1735, with the autographs of the leading gentry. The extracts read included the following: "Nov. ye 28th 1732. Then ordered att a Generall Townsmeeting that Thos Ridgways or any other person that finds any Person or Persons Wandring or begging within the Town or Township of Stockport are hereby ordered and Impow'r'd to take up and bring the sd person or Persons to one of the Constables of the sd Towne who are hereby required to give such Corparell Punishment to such Wagrants or beggars as the Law directs, and that the sd Person or Persons as affors'd so takeing them up and bringing them to the Constables to be so Punish'd shall receive over and above the reward that the Law directs two shillings from the Constable for every offender so punish'd from the Constables for the time being who are hereby required to pay the same accordingly." Signed by the lord of the manor, the rector, the mayor, and sixteen others of the chief inhabitants of the town.

Mr. John E. Bailey, F.S.A., called special attention to an important document which was exhibited, bearing the well-known autograph signature of Charlotte de la Trémouille, Countess of Derby, the gallant defender of Lathom House against the Parliamentarians. The lady at that stronghold

put herself at the head of her tenants and summoned to her assistance the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. They

> raised midst sap and siege
> The banners of their rightful liege
> At their she-captain's call,
> Who, miracle of womankind,
> Lent mettle to the meanest hind
> That mann'd her castle wall.

She was a woman born with qualities for ruling, and she manifested much of the spirit of a former Lady Derby, who, in answer to a complaint made against her, said "I am a gentlewoman, comen of the greatest in Lancashire and Cheshire, and they shall know it right well?" The autograph of Lady Charlotte, Mr. Bailey said, had frequently puzzled those who had come across it, the difficulty being the interlaced double "C" preceding "derby," arranged as in the two C's in Charles II.'s twopences. There was reason to believe that the second C was used out of compliment to the king, after whom she named her first son, the king being a sponsor. The first instance of its use that we know of was in a letter dated from Lathom, 14th October, 1642, printed in the *Farington Papers*, page 87, engraved on plate ii. in the same volume. It was also found in an indenture dated "22 Feb., 1653," between her and Thomas Birch, of Birch, who for £30 received her water cornmill, called Traid Milne, in Cheetham, for fifty years. One of the witnesses to this grant was the herald Dugdale. She also used the monogram in her will, dated 1654; in a petition to the king, dated 1660, recommending a cavalier parson to a Lancashire benefice; as also in a letter dated London, 1666, preserved at Chetham's College, in which she reminded the feoffees of the hospital that they were using her dower-house and had given her no compensation. The signature occurred in the present instance in 1648, in connection with a part of her life about which little was on record, belonging to the time of her severe domestic trouble following the surrender of Lathom, when the family estates were seized and confiscated. It was in August, 1644, that

Prince Rupert and his men, urged by the distress of the countess and animated by the news of the gallantry of her defence, dashed through Stockport, forcing their way past the local Horatius, Colonel Dukinfield, at the narrow bridge, seized Bolton, and broke up the leaguer of Lathom. Blundell the cavalier heard the countess say that very year that since miracles ceased in the Church she thought that there had not been a more wonderful thing than the preservation of Lathom House. Rupert advised Lady Derby to retire from the stronghold to the island kingdom of Man, where her husband was; and, after pledging her jewels for £3,000, she did so, accompanied by her three sons and three daughters, the eldest of whom, Charles (Lord Stanley), was aged eighteen. On 15th June, 1646, a pass was got for her from the House of Lords to come to London out of Lancashire. But in August she was still in the island in great anxiety, her three sons having secretly left it. When, in the preceding month, the last negotiations between the king and Parliament were taking place, it was insisted in the papers of negotiation sent to the king at Newcastle, as it had been before, that the two Counts Palatine, the Earl of Derby (first on the list next the Counts), and thirty-three others, including Bishop Bramhall, should be excluded from the amnesty that was proposed, and seven of them were to be put to death.—(*Thurloe*, p. 80.) Hereupon Lady Derby, much alarmed, left the island for London in order to interfere in her husband's behalf. She embarked in an unseaworthy boat, and was forty-eight hours in crossing, being in great danger. On Tuesday, 6th February, 1647, she was in "Lenguisher," being near one of the earl's houses (not Lathom, which had been let out), and she remained there a fortnight to raise money amongst the tenantry for her journey. She states that she was about to start for London on Monday following. On arriving there she made a long stay, residing at her house at Chelsea. From that place she dated a letter on the 10th March. A trace of her presence in the city appeared on the 15th July, when the House

of Lords gave liberty to the children Catherine, Amelia, Edward, and William to transport themselves, with their servants and goods, from the Isle of Man to any port. In September following Parliament granted to the children one-fifth of their father's confiscated revenue. During that month Lady Derby was paying visits to the king at Hampton Court. The earl was then on his island, very lonely on account of the absence of his wife, said to be engaged in London on his "great business." On 14th March, 1648, writing from London, the countess said: "I am advised to go to Lancashire and try to live upon what they have allowed my children [viz., the fifths], for I receive no money, and I hope my presence may facilitate the means employed for getting it. Being near and on the spot we must live economically, and make the best of what we have." The countess returned to her husband, and on 25th March, writing from the island to her sister-in-law, she said: "Necessity obliges me to quit this place, and our friends of the Parliament advise me to do it, telling me there is no doubt our business will go on very well." It was under these circumstances, eleven days later, the place not being stated, that she gave the receipt now under notice, for money greatly needed, to this effect:

April 5th, 1648.

I doe hereby acknowledge to have received from my servant Will'm Prescott the some of fiftye pounds w'ch saijd some was receued att Hawrden according to ane order from the Comittee of Flintshire for a fiffth parte for the vse of my children—I say rec'd the some of 50li. ꝺC derby.

This William Prescott was of Ayrfield, in Upholland, near Lathom, born in 1603. He became a very devoted servant to the Derby family, and was employed in important matters. He followed the earl in his military adventures, and was with him when he raised an army in Lancashire, following him into the campaign which terminated in the nobleman's capture. He kept with his master up to the end, being his attendant upon the scaffold at Bolton, 15th October, 1651. There the earl, at the critical moment, partly it may be to encourage himself, and partly to keep up the spirits of

his servant, made a remark taken from the language of the old Lancashire sports, "Prescott set thy foot to mine," *i.e.*, let us stand shoulder to shoulder and go through this business manfully—much in the spirit of a Roman gladiator, who, when the fatal stab was given, made it a point of etiquette, *honeste decumbere*, to make his fall in a graceful manner. The earl gave Prescott his gloves, his hat, and his band, together with a Queen Elizabeth sixpence, the only coin left in his pocket, and then the unrighteous sentence was carried out. The relics enumerated became heirlooms in the Prescott family, and descended to the Stockport rector of that name. "William Prescott of Upholland" had to pay £27 to redeem his estate for being implicated with the Royalists, and he died in 1653. He received this £50 for his mistress at Hawarden, near Chester. This property the Derby family had acquired from Henry VIII., and it descended to the husband of the gallant countess. It was bought from the sequestrators by Serjeant Glynne, who belonged to the prevailing party, and who managed to retain it at the Restoration. He it is of whom Butler in *Hudibras* said—

Glynne and Maynard
To make good subjects traitors strain hard;

and many are of opinion that there is a group of politicians in the same quarter, descended from the same serjeant, to whom the couplet might at this moment be justly applied.

Mr. George Esdaile then read a paper on "Cheshire in the Domesday Survey" (see p. 35).

In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Heginbotham, Mr. Bowden said Mr. Heginbotham deserved especial praise for rescuing those old Stockport documents and for tenderly caring for them. Those who had his *History of Stockport* must be familiar with the places they had that day visited, and he was sure he spoke the sentiments of the Society, when he said he hoped that Mr. Heginbotham would let them have the concluding part of the history as speedily as possible. The Rev. J. N. Pocklington seconded the motion, which was heartily carried, and Mr. Heginbotham responded.

Votes of thanks were also passed to the Mayor and Corporation for the use of the Court-room, on the motion of the Rev. G. W. Reynolds, seconded by Mr. Sutton, and to the chairman, on the proposition of the Rev. S. H. Parkes, seconded by Mr. J. Bannister.

Saturday, June 5th, 1886.

WYTHENSHAWE AND BAGULEY HALLS.

About one hundred members of the Society, under the leadership of Mr. G. C. Yates, visited Wythenshawe Hall, the ancestral home of the Tattons, and Baguley Hall. The oldest portion of Wythenshawe Hall dates from the days of Henry VIII., and is partly half-timbered and plastered. The usual great hall has a flat ornamental ceiling, with richly carved Elizabethan walls in oak panels. A withdrawing room over the great hall, as at Bramhall Hall, seems to indicate the period when the habits of the gentry were tending towards refinement and luxury. Over this latter room is a dormitory, having the original open-timbered roof. It is said that there are evidences which suggest a Saxon homestead on the present site, but the earliest historic mention of Wythenshawe is in the time of Edward II., when "Thomas de Mascy, staying in Wythenschawe, which is in the Vill of Northworthen, concedes and for ever confers to William, his son, one messuage and the whole of the land in Wythenschawe. Dated the Monday next before the feast of St. Margaret the Virgin, 1316," since which time there has been an unbroken line of male heirs to the estate. The chief historical event in connection with Wythenshawe is its siege, at Christmas, 1643, by the Parliamentarians, under "Coranale" Duckenfield. For full six weeks this environment by trained soldiers continued, and the Tatton of that day capitulated only on the arrival of two pieces of ordnance brought from Manchester, the heavy

balls from which pierced the whole building from back to front. One of these round missiles has been carefully preserved as a relic. The house was at that time surrounded by a moat, now filled up, but traces of which have been several times found during alterations in the grounds. Both besiegers and besieged seem to have been uncommonly chary about killing anybody, but on a certain Sunday, it is said that a Parliamentary soldier ventured somewhat nearer than was wont to the front of the house, and was observed by a maid-servant, who begged the privilege of a trial shot with a musket, and actually shot the trooper dead. The church register at Stockport gives the name as Captain Adams. Amongst the goods mentioned in the inventory prepared for the capitulation is a "Bible and a little Psalm Book embroidered with Carnacovi Satan."

In consequence of the large number of members present, one half were conducted through the beautiful grounds by the head gardener, whilst the others visited the interior of the hall under the guidance of Mr. Thomas Worthington, who pointed out the interesting, ancient, and savage weapons, pictures, and other works of art with which the hall abounds. The members afterwards assembled in the tenants' hall, where a meeting was held under the presidency of Canon Atkinson, of Longsight. Mr. Yates read a letter from Mr. Tatton, expressing his regret that an important engagement in Wales prevented his being present to receive the members.

Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, M.A., read a short paper on Wythenshawe, remarking, in conclusion, that it was one of the few estates in the extensive hundred of Macclesfield which from the middle of the fourteenth century had been handed down from one generation to another of the same family, and, as the record showed, its successive owners had been true English gentlemen, loyal to the crown, living on their own estate, and ever mindful to promote the well-being of their dependents and neighbours.

Two perforated stone hammers were exhibited and

described by Mr. Whitelegge. They were dug up in the neighbourhood of Gatley, at a depth of several feet below a five-feet bed of clay.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., referring to a map of Wythenshawe in 1641, which was exhibited by Mr. Worthington, said the signature which the surveyor (Richard Martinscrofte) had attached to the map was of considerable interest; and it was a pleasant circumstance thus to meet with it in connection with an excellent piece of handiwork. It added something of importance to what was already known of him. Mr. Bailey then referred to the career of Martinscrofte; and he has since extended the account. He was a Manchester man of considerable mathematical and literary attainments. He was in good repute as a scientific teacher, and was of service to the feoffees of the Chetham Hospital and Library in converting that building to its new purpose, and in arranging the books which they were purchasing for the great library. He was born in Scotland, being the son of Richard Martinscrofte; and he was baptised at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, 10th April, 1606. The father in 1607 was one of the appraisers of the effects in the house of Thomas Cogan, in the Milngate, who deceased that year, and who had been master of the Grammar School, and a physician of repute. Alice Martinscroft, of Manchester, was married at the Collegiate Church, 27th June, 1627, to Richard Deane. The family were living in the Marketstid Lane in the year 1631. The younger Richard, already recognised for his skill in measuring land, surveyed the Wythenshawe property for Mr. Robert Tatton in April, 1641. The plan is thus described: "A true map or topographicall discription of the Lordship of Northerden lyinge along & within the County Palatine of Chester, shewing how the inclosed lands and waste grounds and every particular lyeth within the Boundary thereof, taken and described in Aprill 1641 by RICHARD MARTINSCROFTE." In the following year, when the property seized at the hall, after its surrender to Colonel

Dukenfield and others, was inventoried, "the Mappe of the whole lordship of Northen" was valued at thirty shillings. The Martinscroftes were of the Roman Catholic faith; and when the inhabitants of Manchester were called upon to swear to the Protestation, on the 28th February, 1642, to maintain the religion established against Romish innovations, Richard Martinscrofte and his wife Elizabeth, along with George Martinscrofte and Raphe Jepson were returned as "recusants," being the only four grown-up Roman Catholics in their division of the town, which contained other grown-up male inhabitants (Protestants) to the number of one hundred and sixty-four. If we read the inscription upon Richard's gravestone correctly, he became remarkable for his skill in decorating arks, chests, or cabinets *(faber intestinarius)*. His services in this direction were secured by Humphrey Chetham's feoffees when, in August, 1656, they began to turn the ancient lordly house at Hunt's Bank into an hospital and library. During the interregnum this old house (which, for that time, was vast in size) and the adjoining building had been the dwelling of the *novi homines;* it had also been a powder magazine, a prison, a brewhouse, an Independent church, and a place for Presbyterian meetings; and the alterations now to be made were most extensive. The old clay floors were removed and paved with Rochdale flags, or with timber, and the internal arrangements were reorganised. Martinscroft had his son Richard, and his men, to assist him, the payment to himself and son being one shilling and twopence per day each, and his men one shilling. In the numerous payments made to him he is always, it is noticeable, styled "the joyner," in contradistinction to "the carpenter," who got one shilling and sixpence per day, and who was fitly named *Hercules* Chadwick. The distinction, here very clearly indicated between the two classes of workmen, has since Martinscrofte's time been lost in Lancashire; but it still holds in London, where the joiner has the *inside* work of the house to attend to and the carpenter the *outside*. Martinscroft was very closely working in

the old buildings from 2nd August to about the end of the year. It seems to have been a very dusty business; and there are special entries for refreshment for "Richard Martinscroft the joyner," but for no one else. On 16th September Ann Rawstorne was paid two shillings for ale which he had had; and, on 24th December, there was another payment of three shillings and tenpence for ale supplied to him in the interval. The old man needed his glass of beer, and the Manchester beverage at that time was an honest brew. From 18th October, he was engaged in the tedious but delicate occupation of "cheaning ye bookes in ye library," and also in "clasping" certain of them. Thus in those days, as in the mediæval libraries, the students of Manchester had to read the books within arm's reach of the shelves whence they were taken, and whence they could not well be "conveyed." It is very curious to find chained books in a library at so late a date; and it seems to have been done to carry out the founder's will, that care should be taken that none of the books should go out of the library. Of this very expensive plan of fastening the volumes with bolts and chains, which gave good employment to the local smiths, there is now no trace visible in the walls or shelves; nor is it recorded when the bolts and chains were removed. Martinscrofte also acquired an excellent character as maker or mender of clocks, being as famous in that respect as Peter Clare,

> . . that cunning old fox,
> Who kept the sun right
> By the time of his clocks,—

and whose excellent chronometer at the Manchester Old Town Hall still regulates with precision the local time. When the large dial came to be put up in the College Yard Martinscrofte and his son had it in hand. They received a payment of six shillings and eightpence on 29th June, 1657, for "draweinge the great Dyall belonging to the Hospital;" and another payment was made to them for "draweinge the little wall diall." It was towards the end of the year 1661 that Martinscrofte was busy arranging the books at

the Chetham Library. The folios and quartos, which he had been engaged with five years earlier, had come down from London in eight or nine large vats. On Wednesday, 30th October, 1661, the Rev. Henry Newcome, the devoted minister of the town, notes in his diary that he went to the library (*i.e.*, the great library at the college, in distinction to the English library then being formed in the Byrom Chapel in the old church) "to Martinscroft." The index-maker to the volume quoted turns this name into a *place*. Martinscroft, said to have been formerly written Mascroft and Marescroft, is on this side of Warrington; and there was a family of the name at Thelwall near that place, contemporary with the mathematician. The other reference by Newcome is on the 10th December. He was reading books in the morning, and in the afternoon was "with old Martinscroft, and at the library [the English library] with [the rev.] Mr. Holbrook [minister of Trinity Chapel, Salford] about the English books." About five years afterwards Martinscrofte turns up as one of several "professors" in Manchester engaged in the teaching of mathematics, being an accomplished instructor in that science. This fact was presented to notice in an interesting way. When the Act of Parliament coming into force 24th March, 1665-6, restrained Nonconformist ministers from living within five miles of the places where they had formerly preached, the Rev. Adam Martindale, of Rostherne, removed from that place to Manchester to look out for employment "both mathematicall and ministeriall." In that town he became the instructor of ingenious boys, including many from the Grammar School. The established teachers of mathematics in Manchester, envying Martindale's success, accordingly regarded him with jealousy; and the latter stigmatised the former as antiquated pedagogues steeped in the formularies of the old-fashioned horn-books—"old soakers with their Records' *Arithmetics*." But the shrewd Martindale excepted Martinscrofte from his censure, who was still living in the town. "As for old Richard Martinscroft, who had more true skill

in him than they all, though he was a Papist, he never opposed nor contemned me, but was always civill to me and communicative." Martindale himself was, like Martinscroft, an experienced land surveyor; and some of his scholars at Warrington in the presence of an experienced person once measured there a piece of heath "as if they had been old land-meeters." He was the author of *The Country Survey Book, or Land Meter's Vade-mecum*, which first appeared in 1682, and which arrived at an eighth edition in 1711. In the preface he states that "mathematical schools are very rare; and an able artist to instruct one in private is hard and chargeable to be procur'd." Martincrofte died at the age of eighty, and he was buried at Eccles on 4th January, 1666-7, as Rd. Martinscroft, "of Manchester," under a stone bearing a coat of arms and a long Latin inscription. The wife's death is not recorded in the Manchester parish registers. The stone at Eccles is in the passage at the south entrance to the churchyard, where the traffic has much worn it away. It was copied very many years ago, by Mr. John Owen. The arms then were very indistinct. There are upon the escutcheon three objects in chief, the outer being probably mullets; and in the base is a chevron between three other objects. No Martinscrofte coat is recorded in Burke's *Armory*. The letters of the inscription ran into each other, and the words are divided very grotesquely in two narrow columns, containing twenty-six and twenty-five lines respectively in block letters. One line could not be deciphered. The words may perhaps thus be arranged: "SUB HOC TUMULO INGENIOSI RICHARDI MARTINSCROFTEI CINERES TUMULATOR QUI PRÆSIGNIS INTESTINI OPERIS FABER PRÆCELLENS AGRI MENSOR SOLARIS HOROLOGICUS EXIMUS EMICUIT IN ARITHMETICA OMNIBUS NUMERIS ABSOLITUS ET SECUNDUS EUCLIDI GEOMETRIA CU . . . ACCESSISSENT SUMMUS MATHEMATICUS TERTIO JANUARII 1666 ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LX XX DIEM OBISSET. HIC INSUPER SEPULTA JACET ELISABETHA EJUSDEM RICHARDI CONSORS QUÆ DIEM CLAUSIT EXTRE-

MUM OCTOBRI XXII MDCXLIV ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ LXIII. XPI: Bell of Trafford Bur Dec. 31, 1772." An older copy of this interesting memorial of a Manchester worthy would be very acceptable. The place where it is found, and the addition thereon of the name of Christopher Bell of Old Trafford, probably a descendant of the Martinscrofte family, seem to point to the fact that those buried beneath were dependants upon the Roman Catholic family of De Trafford. Any other notices of Richard Martinscrofte should be put on record.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Tatton, on the motion of Prof. Horace Lamb, seconded by Mr. J. H. Wylie, M.A., the members proceeded to Baguley Hall, one of the earliest of the great halls now existing in Cheshire. The roof is open-timbered, of unusual height, and virtually supported by the outer walls, built up of enormously thick cross pieces of oak, one of which pieces is quite three feet in thickness, the wood being still in perfect condition. In the old hall there is no indication of an ingle nook, nor of an aperture to the roof for purposes of smoke.

Mr. Esdaile gave a short account of Baguley and its owners from the time of Edward the Confessor, when it was held with Sundreland for four manors by Elunard and Suga and Udeman and Pat. They held as freemen, and the two—Bagelei and Sundreland—were worth three shillings. The Conqueror granted these four manors to Gislebertus, and Ranulfus, and Hamo, when all was waste, and the return of its value is "Wasta est tota," All is waste. It was afterwards held by the Bagiley family, who evidently assumed the name of the town as their surname. In the great hall at Baguley is a recumbent effigy of a knight, whom by the arms on his shield must be taken for a Bagiley—or, three lozenges az. (see p. 149). This stone statue was said to have been brought from Bowdon Church. An heiress of the knightly family of Bagiley carried the manor at an early date into the hands of a cadet of the family of Legh del Booths, who continued lords of the manor for many generations. One

of the name was present on the "Scottish Fielde" and "did some deeds of derring do," a full, true, and particular account of which will be found in the *Percy Reliques*, where, after recounting his feats, we are told

> He was a gentilman by Jesu
> That this geste made.

The following new members were reported to have been recently elected: Mrs. Odgers, Miss Ives, Rev. S. H. Parkes, Rev. P. M. Herford, E. W. Bulkeley, F.R.H.S., Frederick Ford Smith, Alfred Güterbock, Edwin H. Waters, Ellis Lever, William Ford Smith, T. Ball, John Robertson, John E. P. Lawton, and Dr. W. H. Clarke.

Wednesday to Saturday, June 16th to 19th, 1886.

VISIT TO RIPON AND DISTRICT.

Local Committee:

Very Rev. W. R. Freemantle, D.D., Dean of Ripon.
The Mayor of Ripon (J. Baynes, J.P.).
F. Bateman, Ripon.
Rev. C. N. Gray, M.A., Helmsley.
W. Harrison, Ripon.
Rev. Canon T. P. Hudson, M.A., East Gilling.
Dr. A. D. H. Leadman, Boroughbridge.
Rev. H. Lunn, M.A., Ripon.
Rev. W. C. Lukis, M.A., F.S.A., Wath.
T. Mason, Fountains Hall.
Rev. J. A. Naylor, M.A., Ripon.
H. St. Paul, Ripon.
H. A. Rye, Helmsley.
W. T. Swain, Boroughbridge.
A. Tupman, Ripon.
Rev. J. S. Tute, M.A., Markington.
W. Wells, Ripon.
S. Jacob, *Hon. Local Secretary.*

A general meeting of the Society was held at Ripon in Whitsun-week. About thirty members left Manchester on Whit-Wednesday, under the leadership of Mr. G. C. Yates, other members joining the party at Ripon. On Wednesday evening the members assembled at the Cross in the Market Place at nine o'clock, to hear the ancient custom of blowing the horn, formerly blown before the door of the wakeman or mayor, when he set the night watch. The horn forms part of the armorial bearings of Ripon.

NEWBY HALL: THE WARDS OF NEWBY.

On Thursday the party drove to Newby Hall, celebrated as being erected from the designs of Sir Christopher Wren, which replaced a former structure by Inigo Jones, and as containing an important collection of sculpture. Here they were received by Lady Mary Vyner, who kindly pointed out some of the principal works of art with which the hall abounds. Afterwards the members assembled in the sculpture gallery, when Mr. John Eglington Bailey, F.S.A., read the following paper, written by a member of a religious community, on the Wards of Newby:—

Great as may be the comparatively modern attractions of Newby, its main interest to an antiquarian society centres in its past; and it is with that past, or rather with those who gave to it the prestige of their name, that the party on archæology and pleasure to-day intent are requested for one moment to linger. Like many other English ancestral homes, Newby formed in times gone by one of the manor houses of a richly landed family; but of such families few could boast of a more ancient genealogical tree than that of Newby's ancient lords—the Wards of Givendale, who first come into notice in King Egbert's reign, as assisting that monarch against the other six Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and thus working with him towards the formation of an "united England." For their services in this behalf King Egbert gave to the Wards, besides other marks of favour, the arms "*azure*, a cross patonce, *or*," which were borne by the king himself.* These arms are still to be seen in an old manuscript at the Herald's College, with the name of "Marmaduke Ward, of Gyvendale," below them, and attest the identity of the Givendale family with that honoured by King Egbert. Whether the Wards passed over to Normandy before 1066, and returned in the train of the Conqueror, or whether they were among the few Anglo-

* Brit. Mus. Lansdown MSS. 856, quoted in *Life of Mary Ward*, by M. C. Chambers.

Saxon families taken into William's favour after he had laid his iron hand upon England, it is not possible to determine for lack of sufficient evidence; but certain it is that they were in England and in the Conqueror's favour in 1072, when seven brothers of the name were all *equites aurati* (gilded knights), and one of these, Edgar, was made warden or ward of the northern borders; whence it has been conjectured that the surname of his family was either derived from or fixed by his office. This order of knighthood, technically known as knight bachelor, though the lowest, is nevertheless the most ancient, and was formerly accounted the highest military dignity, and the foundation of all other honours. Matthew Paris tells us that the knights were known by a gold ring on their thumbs, a chain of gold round their necks, and gilt spurs. From these adornments, and from the privilege of decorating their horses and armour with gold, they were often, in old manuscripts, termed *equites aurati*, or golden knights.* At an early period in the twelfth century the family of Edgar Ward settled at Givendale, and little more than a century later we find his posterity numbered among the powerful barons so formidable in their alternate attack and defence of their kings. Following the chain of Plantagenet sovereigns, we next see the Wards summoned to sit as barons in Parliament in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.; we meet with Sir Simon de Warde in the traditional family post, as one of the *custodes* of Northumberland and Tynemouth; and in 1313 find him among the barons associated against Piers Gaveston. On his restoration to royal favour, he was *custos* of Berwick, commanded in the Scotch wars, and subsequently sat in the Parliament which dethroned Edward II. As his sons are found in the Parliament of Edward III., and retained their father's military dignity in the north of England, it is not unnatural to suppose that they responded to Queen Philippa's challenge, and fought in

* Robson's *British Herald*, vol. i.

defence of their country at Neville's Cross; but, as the names of the heroes of that battle have in only very few instances come down to us, it is not surprising that the conjectured presence there of the Wards cannot be actually certified by proof. That military dignity and political power did not entirely absorb the attention of the family is evidenced by the facts that it gave many benefactors to Fountains Abbey, and provided for the foundation and subsequent endowment of the Priory of Eschewold, or Esswold, in Ayredale, where many of the Wards lie buried, and where one of them held sway as prioress from 1480 to 1497. Neither do the Wards appear to have been in any way connected with the Wars of the Roses; but a few years after their virtual close, Sir Christopher Ward, the last male heir of the Wards of Givendale, made himself conspicuous in the Scotch wars, was knighted on the battle field of Alnwick in 1482. In 1513 he led the Yorkshire levies to Flodden Field, and was standard-bearer to Henry VIII. at Boulogne. Sixty years after his death in 1521, the family estates were in the possession of Marmaduke Ward, an undoubted scion of the ancient house, though genealogists have still to discover whether he owed his heirship to one of Sir Christopher's brothers, of whom there were many; or to one of Sir Christopher's three daughters; or possibly to Sir Christopher's sister Margaret, who married Sir John Conyers, of Norton Conyers, a family well known in history for their connection with the rising in the north in 1569. With Marmaduke Ward, the father of "the chief glory of her race," we may fitly pause, and enquire how the family came into possession of Newby; what afterwards became of the property; and what was the county status of the Ward family at the date to which Marmaduke's name has brought us? According to Bigland, Newby was, in the reign of Edward I., the possession of Alexander de Nubie, lord of the place; but, as Nicholas, father of Sir Christopher Ward, is called its "lord" before 1472, it must meanwhile have passed to the Ward family, who continued

to hold it till Marmaduke's death, though probably not much later. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Newby was in the hands of the Croslands; in 1760 it devolved on Sir Edward Blacket, Bart., of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. He was son of Sir Walter Calverley Blacket, who in his father—Sir Walter Calverley, first baronet — represented the twenty-third generation from John Scott of Calverley, who came into England with Maud, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots; and in his mother became heir to Sir William Blacket, of Northumberland, Bart.* It is disputed whether Newby, as we now see it, was rebuilt by the Croslands after the design of the Catholic architect, Inigo Jones, or whether its restoration is to be attributed to Sir Edward Blacket, from designs from Sir Christopher Wren; but the former seems the more probable opinion. Sir Edward Blacket was succeeded by his son Edward, who dying without issue left the estate to his nephew, Sir Ed. Blacket, Bart. From his son John it subsequently passed by purchase to Richard Weddel, Esq., who was succeeded by his son William Weddel, Esq., by whose death in 1792 Newby with other estates devolved to the Right Hon. Thomas Weddel Robinson, Lord Grantham, afterwards Earl de Grey, father of the present Lady Mary Vyner. Of new and old Mullwith, which, like Newby, were manor houses of the Ward family, and were from time to time their residences, little is known save that they formed part of the patrimony of Sir Christopher Ward, and with the other family property came into the possession of Marmaduke Ward, and were the scenes of some events of his daughter's chequered history. The names of Mullwith and Givendale still survive near Ripon; but the ancient houses have long since been demolished, their names being given to farmhouses of a modern date. Givendale's history and fortunes are bound up with those of the Ward family, of which it remained the

* Kimber and Johnson's *Baronetage*, vol. iii.

ancestral seat till some time after Marmaduke's death. It is described by Leland as "a fair manor place of stone," and stood on the east bank of the river Ure, about three miles below Ripon, commanding beautiful views both up and down the valley. Towards the end of the last century, when the foundations were disturbed in the croft near the road leading to Newby, several stones bearing inscriptions in black letter were discovered and walled into outbuildings.* The original house had probably occupied a site still partly surrounded by a moat on lower ground a little to the north of Givendale farm. But though the estates eventually passed from the Wards, several cadets of the family founded independent houses, and many of their descendants may be traced through the lines settled at Upton, co. York, and Bishop Midleham, co. Durham.† If the county status of the Ward family may be gauged by its family connections, a glance at them will show the lords of Givendale to have been allied with the noblest in northern England. To go back no further than Sir Christopher and Marmaduke, intermarriages in several generations had closely allied the Wards with the families of Percy and Neville, Mallory of Studley and Norton of Norton-Conyers, Radcliffe of Dilston and Ingleby of Ripley, Booth, Plumpton, Middleton, Arthington, Vavasour, Constable, Gascoigne, Lascelles, and many others of equal note. Thus we find Wards in the pedigrees of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, and the name is not absent from the genealogy of the ill-fated Earl of Derwentwater; while the Ward connection with the Gascoignes and Lascelles places Marmaduke Ward's near relatives on the family tree of the lords of Harewood. This lordship, which before the Conquest was held by three Danish chieftains, and soon afterwards was brought by marriage into the family of the Earls of Chester, subsequently passed to many families, being frequently transferred by the marriage of heiresses. It was thus

* Walbran's *Fountains Abbey*, published by Surtees Society.

† Surtees's *History of Durham*, vol. iii., p. 13.

brought, in the reign of Edward III., to Sir William Aldburgh of Aldburgh in Richmondshire. Harewood afterwards came into the possession of the Gascoignes of Gawthorpe; and in the ancient church hard by is the tomb with the full-length figure of Sir William Gascoigne, the intrepid judge who committed to prison "Prince Harry" of future Agincourt fame and refused—despite the command of the king—to pass an unjust sentence of condemnation against Scroop, Archbishop of York. From the Gascoignes, Harewood was transferred by marriage to Thomas Wentworth, of Wentworth, grandfather of the famous Earl of Strafford, who resided there during part of the time when the storm was gathering, which proved so fatal to himself, his sovereign, and the kingdom. Gibson's notes on *Camden* tell us that "the castle was reduced to a skeleton during the civil wars." During Cromwell's usurpation it was sold by the second Earl of Strafford, and afterwards purchased by Sir John Cutler, of penurious memory, who bequeathed it to his only daughter, the Countess of Radnor. Upon her death without issue, in 1696, it devolved on her relative, John Boulter Boulter, Esq., by whose heirs it was sold to Henry Lascelles, Esq. His family may be traced to the Conquest, it possessed several estates in Yorkshire, and with the Wards is represented among the barons of the realm summoned to Parliament in the reigns of Edward I. and Edward II. In 1790, Edwin Lascelles, Esq., was advanced to the peerage as Lord Harewood. Marmaduke Ward's wife, Ursula Wright, was daughter of William Wright, Esq., of Ploughland, and relict of John Constable, of Hatfield, Esq. Her father Robert was son of John Wright, Esq., who came out of Kent in the reign of Henry VIII., and married Alice, daughter and coheiress of Sir John Ryther, by whom he obtained Ploughland Hall in Holderness. (The Ploughland house of the present day is a farmhouse, situated on an eminence, but has nothing particularly worthy of notice.*) Ursula Wright's

* Poulson's *Holdernesse*, p. 517.

sister Martha formed a fresh link with the Northumberland house by her marriage with Thomas Percy, while other members of her family married into houses already named as connected with the Wards. The names of Wright and Percy at Marmaduke Ward's date suggest connection with the gunpowder treason, and we accordingly see his brothers-in-law in John and Christopher Wright, both killed in the fatal encounter of the conspirators with the sheriff's officers at Holbeach, when his other brother-in-law, Thomas Percy, was mortally wounded, and carried off with his surviving confederates to the Tower, where he lived only three days. Marmaduke Ward had himself been arrested some few days previously for supposed complicity in the plot; and among the original documents connected with its history there is one containing his examination, "taken before Sir ffowlke Grevyll, Knight, and Bartholomew Hales, Esq., on November 6, 1605, at Beauchamp's Court, Warwick;" but we hear of no untoward result to himself or his family following upon his arrest. For many years, as a Catholic exposed to fine and imprisonment, he had courted secrecy and retirement; and for this purpose had left his native county and retired to Northumberland, where we meet with him at several periods of his life. With his name this slight notice of his family might, from an antiquarian point of view, fitly close were it not that a few words are due to the memory of his illustrious daughter Mary. A chosen soul, we might almost say a saint from infancy, born in 1585 at Newby, the spot which claims our interest to-day, Mary Ward spent her holy, happy girlhood partly at Newby-cum-Mullwith, partly at Ploughland, the home of her maternal grandmother, and partly at Babthorpe with her relatives of that name. Her father's companion during part of his interrupted journey south in the year of the gunpowder plot, she passed over to St. Omer the following year with the intention of entering religion; and on her arrival there, was directed to make trial of the life of an extern-sister among the Poor Clares—a state altogether unsuited to her habits and education.

Shortly afterwards she founded a house of English Poor Clares at Gravelines, though without making vows as a member of the community; and, still in doubt as to the mission for which she was herself designed, yet ever looking only for and longing only to accomplish the will of God and further His greater glory, she returned to England in 1609. There she found those who with herself were to form the foundation stones of a new religious congregation devoted not exclusively to the contemplative life, but uniting with it the apostolic duties of education and instruction, according to constitutions and rules drawn from those of the Society of Jesus, with the view, in the first instance, of keeping alive the ancestral faith of Catholic England. The first attempt to carry out this idea was made at St. Omer, where, in spite of much opposition, it was attended by unlooked-for success, and houses of the company were within few years established in London, Liege, Cologne, Treves, Rome, Naples, Perugia, and Munich. Opposition, arising in some measure from culpable and inculpable misrepresentation of the design of the congregation and from alarm at what was then the novelty of that design, did its work; and the congregation was suppressed by papal decree in 1631; but with that suppression Mary Ward's mission was not brought to a close. In the city of Rome and elsewhere her design in a slightly modified form was carried out with the encouragement and under the personal protection of the vicar of Christ himself, while Mary passed over to England, and there continued her Apostolic labours till her death at Hewarth, near York, in 1645. These are a few of the leading facts of her heroic career, of which a pleasing and truthful picture has lately been given to the English public in the *Life of Mary Ward*, by M. C. Chambers. In it we can study the noble, brave-hearted Englishwoman as her memory still lives in the Institute, which owes its origin to her humble courage and unfaltering trust in God, and which for more than two hundred years has held its own in the capital of Yorkshire itself. Half a century ago few English Catho-

lics had not heard of the "York nuns," or, as they were sometimes called from the proximity of their house to the chief gate of the city, "The Ladies at the Bar;" but it may not now be so widely known that they belong to the Institute which originated with Mary Ward and in which she died. Their house was founded by one of her religious daughters (Frances Bedingfeld), who was with her in her declining years at Hewarth. The temporal founder of the convent (Sir Thomas Gascoigne) belonged to a family closely connected with the Wards. Not in England alone has Mary Ward's work borne fruit; from Bavaria and Austria it has spread to Italy, Turkey, the Tyrol, and India; while from Ireland its offshoots are to be found in India, America, Australia, and Africa. We began with family genealogy, we end with spiritual ancestry. Interest attaches to both. Though in each case different in kind, it is still interest, and so may possibly secure for this necessarily imperfect sketch a welcome from the members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society assembled at Newby on June the 17th.

Mr. Bailey added that a local interest also attached to the memory of Mary Ward. The large convent near St. Mary's Church, in Hulme, Manchester, which had attained a very high educational position, could be traced to her influence. A lady named Ball, sister to one of the queen's judges in Ireland, was educated at the York convent, and afterwards joined the community. She established in Ireland the well-known house in Rathfarnham, near Dublin; and through the instance of Canon Toole, D.D., of St. Wilfrid's, Hulme, in 1851, a foundation from that house, for the improvement of education in Manchester, was obtained. This has been established in Upper Moss Lane, under the name of the Loreto Convent.

Lady Mary Vyner expressed her interest in the communication; and the party, after thanking her ladyship for her courtesy, left the mansion.

On leaving Newby Hall, Skelton Church was visited. It

was erected in memory of Frederick Grantham Vyner, who was murdered by Greek brigands. It is in the early decorated style, contains some fine sculptures, and the internal decorations are exceedingly handsome.

ALDBOROUGH.

Aldborough, the Iseur of the Britons and the Isurium of the Romans, was next visited under the guidance of Dr. Leadman. The tesselated pavements were examined and described by the leader. One of these pavements is situated under the sitting-room floor of a cottage, and is in excellent condition. By the kind permission of Mr. A. Lawson, the manor grounds, museum of Roman antiquities, and tesselated pavements were thrown open to the party. The churches at Boroughbridge and Aldborough were visited, and at both churches the vicars gave interesting particulars of their histories. The site of Aldborough church nearly marks the centre of the Roman Isurium, and a statue of Mercury which is built into the east wall of the vestry, is said by local tradition to have been discovered when digging the foundation, whence it is supposed that a temple to that god stood here. Coins and other Roman relics are often dug up in the churchyard. Against the north wall of the north aisle is the well-known Aldborough brass. The date assigned to it is *circa* 1360. The Rev. R. W. Marriott exhibited the church plate and the registers. Amongst the marriages is the following: "From the years 1653 to 1656, which were made by Cromwel's Justices of the Peace (yt impious Arch Rebell ['Oliver Cromwel' *erased*] appointed out of the basest Hypocrites and dissemblers with God and man), the manner of whose certificates that they might appear to after ages I do here register, one from Tho. Dickinson, whom Cromwel made believe he had Knighted—viz., according to a certificate written, attested by the Parish Register with others: The said William Dove and Eliz. Clemetshaw, both of the town and parish of Aldburgh, came this day before me, M^{r} S^{re} Thomas Dickinson, Esquire, one of the Justices of Peace,

within the West Riding of the county of York, and declared their desire and consente to proceed in marriage according to the Act in that behalf provided; whereupon the said Wm. Dove did take for his wife the said Eliz. Clemetshaw, and the said Elizabeth Clemetshaw did take for her wedded husband the said Wilm Dove, with consent of parents, before me, and in the presence of Wilm Burnand, Tho. Catton, Edw. Thompson, Nicholas Smithson. These witnesses on the seventh day of Feb., in the year of 1653.—Note: Yt many would not be so marryed; and such for the most part as were so marryed, were also marryed in their own parish churches by their ministers." At the end of the transcript (1658) is the following: "Transcribed out of an imperfect register taken in The Times Oliver Cromwel's impious Rebellion by a Register appointed ['to the traitor' *erased*] by one of his wise Justices, upon the first day of April Anno Dom 1704, by me, EDW. MORRIS, Vicibid."

Mr. Esdaile had a paper on Aldborough, which stated that the place had given name to a family of much distinction in the field. According to the Scottish Rolls, Ivo de Aldburgh had a grant, 13 Edward II. (1319-20), of some fisheries in the water of "Twede." His son was the famous soldier in the Scottish wars—whose "brass" still remains in the church—William de Aldburgh, who had a grant of lands in Scotland. The figure of William de Aldeburgh is habited in a camise of mail and is further protected by plate armour; over this he wears a jupon, which with his shield is charged with his arms (azure)* a fess between three cross crosslets (or). He married Elizabeth de Insula, the eventual heiress of Harewood Castle; and over the door of the great chamber there may yet be seen her paternal coat (ermine), a lion rampant (azure) (*York Visit. Glover and St. George*, p. 610). Considerable confusion has been caused by some person having cut five irregular zigzags on the fess on

* These tinctures, which are not given on the brass or on the stone carving, are indicated in parentheses.

the shield, which has induced the idea that the fess was intended to be indented; but as the fess on the jupon is blank, proof is given that it was not a fess indented; further, to represent such a fess there must be two parallel zigzags. This brass is given in Haines's book, but two mistakes have been made in the hinges of the plate armour of the right arm, showing in each case one joint less than in the rubbing. The "borough" of Aldborough is not mentioned as a borough in Domesday Book, nor are there any documents to show that it was a "borough" by prescription.* It did not return members to Parliament till 1570 (13 Elizabeth), although incorporated in 1 Edward VI.'s reign (1558). As early as 1676 the term burghers was applied to those who exercised the privileges of the place, and some returns in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. are stated to be made by "the burgesses and boroughmen." The latter term is not met with in any other place. The burgesses were also called borough-holders. In 1679 a parliamentary committee decided that only the inhabitants paying scot and lot had the right of election, to which the House assented. In 1690, in the case of another petition, this decision was confirmed, with an express negative of the right of "only" the select number of burgesses holding by burgage tenure; and the committee decided that the right was not only in the select number holding by burgage tenure, but that "all the inhabitants paying scot and lot" had the right, with which the House agreed. The borough ceased to return members in 1832. One—said to be the last—of the burghers was seen mending the road at the advanced age of eighty-five. Mr. Esdaile had also some remarks on the Roman Isurium — the predecessor of Aldborough—collected and tabulated from the writers on the subject.

After leaving Aldborough the members proceeded to "The Devil's Arrows," three huge upright stones, unhewn.

* Sir H. Merewether's *Hist. of Boroughs*, pp. 1306, 1767.

They are supposed to belong to a pre-Roman period. Markinfield Hall was next visited. It is a large castellated structure, with a moat, and was built in the time of Edward III. It is tenanted by a farmer, and is in excellent condition. A history of the building was given by Mr. Jacob.

Returning to Ripon, the party sat down to dinner at the Unicorn Hotel, the Rev. J. H. Stanning occupying the chair, and the Rev. J. E. Odgers the vice-chair. After dinner, on the motion of the Chairman, seconded by the Vice-Chairman, and supported by Mr. Bailey, a vote of thanks was passed to the leaders of the party. It was said that to these gentlemen the success of the day's excursion was due, and they bore out the district's reputation for fidelity embodied in the phrase "as trew steel as Rippon rowels."

Dr. Leadman, in reply, said it was always a pleasure to him to give pleasure to other people. It had been a pleasure to him to explain the antiquities of Aldborough, chiefly because he had an attentive audience, and if his remarks conduced to the enjoyment of those present, he was exceedingly glad. Some people despised archæology, but as a friend of his remarked, and it was worth remembering, those who did not care for the past were equally regardless of the future.

Mr. Jacob also responded, and said if the remainder of the programme was gone through with the same smoothness as that day's proceedings, it would be very satisfactory. He welcomed the Society to Ripon, and stated they would always find those willing in the city to make a visit enjoyable.

Whit Friday was devoted to a drive of thirty-six miles through some of the loveliest scenery in Yorkshire, commanding extensive views. Starting from Thirsk, Coxwold Church and Shandy Hall (Laurence Sterne's house) were first visited. Byland Abbey was next reached and inspected, under the guidance of Mr. Edward C. Munby, who has lately been engaged in restoring some portions of it. The date of the building of the abbey may be cited at about

1177. Arriving at Helmsley, the members were met by Mr. H. A. Rye, who acted as leader for the rest of the day, first visiting the church and afterwards the ruins of Helmsley Castle. Mr. Rye had prepared the following paper:—

HELMSLEY CASTLE AND CHURCH.

The castle of Helmsley, founded in the early part of the twelfth century by Walter L'Especk, a baron possessing large estates in Northumberland, Yorkshire, and Bedfordshire—a man of great military skill, and who took an active part in the battle of the Standard. About twenty years after the foundation of Rievaulx, Walter L'Especk assumed the religious habit and became a monk there, and died and was buried at the entrance of the chapter-house in the year 1153. The remainder of his large estates, left after the building and endowing by him of the three monasteries of Kirkham, Rievaulx, and Wardon, was divided amongst his three sisters. The youngest of these, Adeline L'Especk, married Peter de Roos, whose estates lay in Holderness, but who finally settled at Helmsley. The castle remained vested in the Roos family until the line failed with Edmund, fourteenth Baron Roos, who died 1508. His sister and co-heir carried the estate into the Manners family by her marriage with Sir Robert Manners. The grandson of this lady was created Earl of Rutland, 1525. The property passed from the Manners family by marriage of Lady Elizabeth Manners, only child of the third earl, with William Cecil, afterwards Earl of Exeter. The earldom of Rutland and barony of Roos were united in the person of the sixth Earl of Rutland, whose only daughter, Lady Katherine, married George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham. The property was sold at the death of his son to the Duncombe family. The castle is very strong, double moated, with the remains of a strong keep, and main and little barbican. On the west side is a block of buildings restored by the second Duke of Buckingham, containing part of a room with old oak panelling, and the remains of

an elaborated plaster ceiling with deep cornice, with shields bearing the arms of Edward Manners, third Earl of Rutland, 1587. They consist of sixteen quarterings, and bear traces of colour. Between the arms appear a *fleur de lys*, supported on each side by a wyvern below a mermaid with glass and comb, with dolphin on one side and a nondescript marine animal on the other. Near to the keep is a small piece of ruin, supposed to be the chapel; close to this a large stone, said to be the site of the well. In the civil war the castle was besieged by Lord Fairfax, and held out well under Colonel Crosland. In one of the onslaughts Fairfax received a ball in the shoulder, and was carried off to York all but dead. Crosland was able to dictate articles of surrender, nine in number, dated Helmsley Castle, November 6th, 1644; the second of which states that the soldiers shall march out with their arms loaded, matches lighted, colours flying, and drums beating; the seventh, that the castle of Helmsley be absolutely demolished, and that no garrison hereafter be kept there by either party. On the 22nd November the castle poured out its garrison accordingly, with colours flying, drums beating, and matches lighted. In it were about two hundred men, nine pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets and pikes, six barrels of powder, and much money and plate. The work of demolition began at once. A partial restoration took place by the order of second Duke of Buckingham. After his death, the whole was allowed to fall into the state you now see it. Helmsley Church, dedicated to All Saints, is of ancient foundation; we find mention of it in Domesday Survey. Walter L'Especk gave to Kirkham Priory the church of Helmsley Blakemore, with one carucate of land, and pannage in the woods for all the hogs belonging to the canons and their men, also pasturage for their other cattle (*vide* Gill's *Vallis Eboracensis*, p. 288). The earliest account of a vicar is the institution of Walter de Sixendale, A.D. 1320. The church is entered on the south side by a

large porch and fine Norman arch of zigzag pattern, and eight cylindrical pillars. It consists of nave, north aisle, north and south transepts, chancel, and tower. The chancel is entered by a beautiful Norman arch. There is a fourteenth century piscina in the north aisle, illustrated in Parker's *Glossary of Architecture.* At the entrance of the tower is a brass with the effigies of a knight and lady of about the fifteenth century, with three children at their feet, a shield over their heads with the arms of the Manners family, a peacock and pencils. It most probably commemorates Sir Robert Manners, knight, of Etall Castle, Northumberland, who married Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Lord Roos. The restoration of the church in 1868 has swept away nearly everything of antiquarian interest. At the back of the church is an old half-timbered house, still bearing the name of Canon House, the field adjoining being called Canon Garth. This most probably was the residence of some of the canons of Kirkham, who served the church.

RIEVAULX ABBEY.

About three miles from Helmsley is Rievaulx Abbey, one of the most beautiful ruins in Yorkshire. The members approached it from the celebrated terrace made by Mr. Duncombe about the middle of the last century. The terrace is more than half a mile long and of considerable width. Passing amongst a mass of evergreens, the party suddenly found themselves on a broad, grassy level, at either end of which is a Grecian temple, containing fine painted ceilings. It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the beauty of this lovely place. Below the terrace winds the stream of the Rye through its own vale, into which four lesser valleys open, all with narrow threads of greensward lying between their steep, wooded sides. Corn and pasture fields crown the nearer hills, the highest of which is almost covered with wood. Bolder and more rugged hill-crests look over from the top of Ryedale; and all around in the distance sweeps the purple heather. On the left bank of the river rises the

great roofless abbey, its walls decked with ferns and grasses and in some parts clothed with ivy. The principal remains of the abbey are those of the choir and transepts and of the refectory. The nave was probably the oldest part of the building, and of Norman construction, but only its foundations survive. The south front has two rows of fine lancet windows. The refectory is in a good state of preservation. It was a noble apartment one hundred and twenty-five feet long by thirty-seven feet broad.

Mr. Rye contributed the following notes on the abbey: Sir Walter L'Especk, by Adelina (his wife), had only one son, who was passionately fond of riding swift horses. While he was one day riding, near Frithby, his horse fell, and young Walter was killed. His father, deprived of his son and heir, resolved to make Christ his heir of part of his lands, and he accordingly founded and endowed three monasteries: Kirkham (Augustinian canons), 1122, the high altar standing on the site of the spot where his son Walter was killed; Rievaulx (Cistercian), 1131; Wardon, Bedfordshire (Cistercian), 1136. The abbey of Rievaulx was the first of the Cistercian order founded in Yorkshire. To the monks of S. Bernard of Clairvaux, the solitary place in Blakemoor, near Hamlec, was given by Walter L'Especk in the presence of Thomas Praverst, of Beverley, Eustace Fitz John, lord of Knaresborough, Stephen de Meinau, and many other friends as witnesses; and received by Abbot William and a band of monks sent over by S. Bernard. The colony seems to have prospered under the rule of Abbot William, for in 1136 they sent out a colony, and founded and built the abbey of Melrose in Scotland, and again, in the year 1143, William (earl of Lincoln) came to the abbot to beg him to send a colony of monks to one of his estates, Revesby, in Lincolnshire. Abbot William sent Aelred, a Saxon youth, son of Eilian, priest of Hexham, of rare learning and splendid prospects, having been companion to Prince Henry, son of King David of Scotland, then advanced to be high steward of Scotland. These high positions he forsook

and joined the Cistercian order at Rievaulx, and at the age of twenty-four in 1133 became a monk, and was sent with a band of twelve monks to Revesby, where he was first abbot. After ruling over Rievaulx fifteen years Abbot William died 1146. Part of the Norman work to be seen is of this date. He was succeeded by Brother Maurice, who only ruled for a short period, then resigned. The monks then recalled Aelred, and elected him abbot 1160. We find him arbitrating between the monks of Byland and the abbot of Furness, and deciding in favour of the monks of Byland in 1151. In the year 1150 Walter L'Especk entered the monastery and became a monk, dying there on March 9th, 1153. His remains were interred at the entrance of the chapterhouse. We have a beautiful description of him given by Aelred. An old man full of days, quick witted, prudent in council, moderate in peace, circumspect in war, a true friend and loyal subject. His stature was passing tall, his limbs all of such size as not to exceed their just proportions, and yet to be well matched with his great height. His hair was still black, his beard long and flowing, his forehead wide and noble, his eyes large and bright, his face broad but well featured, his voice like the sound of a trumpet setting off his natural eloquence of speech with certain majesty of sound. Such is the description of this great soldier who took so active a part in the battle of the Standard. Aelred lived a life of great sanctity, wrote many books, and ruled for six years over Rievaulx, where he governed three hundred monks. He, as the *Chronicle of Melrose* says, suffered patiently, and died triumphantly January 12th, 1166. He was afterwards canonised and his day was kept on the anniversary of his death. Leland saw his tomb richly adorned with gold and silver a short time before the dissolution. From this date we have very little of the history of Rievaulx left to us. In 1409, in the reign of Abbot William, twenty-fourth abbot, we find that procurators were sent by him to the Council of Pisa, which was held for the extinction of the schism between the rival Popes

Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII. At the feast given by Nevile, Archbishop of York, at his installation in 1464, John Tukeley, twenty-eighth abbot, ranked fourth in order of precedence at table. In 1536 or 1537, Edward, abbot of Rievaulx (who signed an inventory of plate and jewels at Fountains), was executed for taking part in the pilgrimage of grace. On December 3rd, 1539, Richard Blyton signed the surrender, and with twenty-three monks received a pension amounting in the whole £165. 13s. 4d. per annum, the abbot receiving £66. 13s. 4d. The valuation of the abbey given in Pope Nicholas's taxation in 1291 is £241. 10s. 0d. The valuation in 26th of Henry VIII., £351. 14s. 6d.; clear revenue, £278. 10s. 2d. There were 5,000 acres fit for growing corn, 110 fodder of land, 516oz. of plate, and five bells. The site was granted to Thomas Earl of Rutland, a descendant of the founder, in exchange for these lands. The following burials took place in the abbey:—1155, 2nd Henry II.: Henry Le Scrope by will ordered his corpse to be buried before the altar of our Lady of Pity. This tomb was opened in 1819, and a skeleton was found with the beard resting on the breast; the bones were taken to Helmsley and again buried, against the church tower. By this we are enabled to know the dedication of the centre of the five altars discovered last year against the east wall of the quire. 1328, 2nd Edward III.: William Malbys, knight, had licence to translate the bones of Sir John Malbys and Agnes, his parents, from the church of Acaster Malbys where they had been many years buried, and inter them in the conventual church of Rieval amongst the bones of his progenitors. 1384: Thomas de Roos, buried in middle of quire. This most probably is the tomb the remains of which were discovered last year on the north side of quire. In 1394, Sir John de Roos was buried on the side of the quire near the altar. This tomb is most probably the large blue slab near the high altar on the north side. Also in 1394, Lady Mary Roos, of Oryby, by will directed her corpse to be laid by her husband, Sir John, in this

monastery, and left £100 for a marble tomb like that of Dame Margaret de Oryby, her mother, in Boston Church. I cannot better conclude my short notes than by quoting a prophecy in the Cottonian MSS., said to have been written before the dissolution:

> Twoe men came riding over Hackney way,
> The one of a blacke horse the other on a gray;
> The one unto the other did say,
> Loo yonder stood Revess that faire abbay.

"Henry Cawton, a monk, sometime of Reves Abbey, in Yorkshire, affirmed that he had often read this in a MS. belonging to that abbay containing many prophecies, and was extant then before the dissolution; but when he or any other of his fellowes redde it they used to throw the booke away in anger, as thinking it impossible ever to come to passe" (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v. 280). As you pass on your way home you will see the banks of the canal made by the monks to float the building stone from the bank at the foot of Hollins to the site; also you will just catch sight of the site of the forge where the monks worked their iron, the slag refuse from which place has for years been used to mend the roads round here.

SCENE OF THE VICAR OF WAKEFIELD.

After dinner at the Unicorn Hotel, Ripon, in the evening, Mr. John E. Bailey said that the spirits of a merry party like the present, intent at once on pleasure and antiquarianism along the banks of the Skell and Ure, were far removed from the gloomy frame of mind which oppressed another traveller who found himself

> Remote, unfriended, melancholy, slow,
> Or by the lazy Scheld or wandering Po.

A reference to the writer of those lines was not here out of place. He had laid the scene of his tale of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, first published in 1766, mostly in the district which had that day been visited. The tale would ever retain pleasing interests to persons of all years by reason of

its charming sweetness, its lively character, its high morality, and its excellent language. The vicar was a character only possible to be found in this country. Everyone was familiar with the figure of the good parson, and loved to admire him when engaged in duty, or as depicted in well-known passages in the poets and other writers, from the time of Chaucer's "poor parson" to that of Praed's Vicar Brown. But it is to be regretted that the old tale, of which Dr. Primrose is the hero, is not now so well known nor perused as much as it used to be. Mr. Bailey said that when at Whitby last year, intending to go to Helmsley, he in vain tried in the former town to buy or borrow a copy of the book. It would now perhaps be found in any town or considerable village on the continent. The present interest in it lay in the fact, first made known by Mr. Edward Ford in 1883, that the "small cure" seventy miles from Wakefield, to which the vicar retired in his distress, was the little market town of Kirkby-Moorside, near Helmsley (North Riding), the place where the profligate Duke of Buckingham died in 1687—not (as Pope says) in the worst inn's worst room, but obscurely and friendless in the house of one of his tenants. The vicar's cure was "a little neighbourhood consisting of farmers who tilled their own grounds, and were equal strangers to opulence and poverty. Remote from the polite, they still retained a primæval simplicity of manners, and frugal by long habit, scarce knew that temperance was a virtue." This description, with the details succeeding of the amusements of the inhabitants of the region (chap. iv.), is thoroughly local in character. The house of Dr. Primrose—here very fitly named—was seated at the foot of a sloping hill, sheltered with a beautiful underwood behind, and a prattling river (a branch of the river Rye) before; on one side a meadow, on the other a green. The floods met with by the travelling family on the journey to the new parish are a peculiar local feature; and the spot on the "rapid stream," where the prude Sophia was nearly drowned (chap. iii.) may have been at the confluence of the Swale and Ouse at Borough-

bridge, "within thirty miles of our future retreat" (Kirby-Moorside). Thornhill Castle, but "a few miles off" (chap. iii.) was Helmsley Castle; and Sir William Thornhill is supposed to have been the eccentric Sir George Savile. Other distances named in the story fit well in with the locality. "The county gaol, which was eleven miles off" (chap. v., vol. ii.), is that at Pickering. "The wells, about thirty miles off" (chap. xviii., vol. ii.), are those of Harrogate, a place which about this time, when Smollett knew it, possessed five inns overlooking the wide common. "The races, which were but thirty miles further," were those of Doncaster, held in September, afterwards rendered popular by the stakes established in 1778, at the expense of Colonel St. Leger. The "neighbouring fair" for the sale of horses, called Wellbridge Fair (chap. xii., and chap. vi., vol. ii.), where Blackberry brought the money with which the simple Moses purchased the green spectacles with silver rims and shagreen cases, was one of the numerous horse fairs in that region of horses, and is said by Mr. Ford to be Welburn, a town which he (Mr. Bailey) could not find upon the map, nor amongst the lists of fairs. Mr. Ford had further pointed out that in *The History of Miss Stanton*, 1760, attributed to Goldsmith, the old clergyman, who was regarded by Sir James Prior and others as containing the germ of *The Vicar of Wakefield*, lived "within two miles of H. [*i.e.*, Helmsley], a town in the North of England." The "limner, who travelled the country" and painted portraits for fifteen shillings a head (chap. xvi.), is conjectured to have been the famous George Romney, a Lancashire man, at this time of his life an itinerant portrait painter. The visit to the region of *The Vicar of Wakefield* would leave pleasant memories.

RIPON CATHEDRAL.

On Saturday morning the members visited Ripon Cathedral under the guidance of Mr. Benson, who gave admirable descriptions of the most interesting portions of

the edifice. After visiting the choir and admiring its beautiful carvings, the chapter house and vestry, and the library which contains many valuable books and MSS., the members proceeded to the Saxon crypt under the central tower. Descending some stone steps they traversed a narrow and inconvenient passage. Forty-five feet from the nave they arrived in a cylindrically vaulted cell, seven feet nine inches wide, eleven feet three inches long, and nine feet four inches high, dark and cheerless as the grave. It is of the Saxon period and resembles St. Wilfrid's crypt in Hexham Church. The "Needle" has been formed by perforating the niche, thirteen inches wide and eighteen inches high, on the north side, through the thickness of the wall to the parallel passage behind, said to ascend to the porch in the choir screen. The purposes to which this very singular place has been successively applied are not certainly ascertained, though there seems no doubt but that originally it was intended to serve as a place of retirement, humiliation, penance, and prayer. Several of the ladies in the party "threaded the needle."

FOUNTAINS ABBEY: ACOUSTIC POTTERY.

On leaving Ripon Cathedral the members drove to Studley Park, visiting the church at the end of the beautiful avenue of limes. Driving along the edge of the lake the members arrived at the entrance of the pleasure grounds, and shortly reached the surprise view of Fountains Abbey.

> Low in a vale, with springs well stored, and wood,
> And sovereign herbs whence failing health's renewed.
> A neighbouring abbey next invites the eye;
> Stupendous act of former piety!
> From streams and springs which nature here contrives,
> The name of Fountains this sweet place derives.

The members were met here by the Dean of Ripon, the Rev. J. S. Tute, and the Rev. E. Bettlestone. Mr. Tute acted as leader and read an admirable paper on the history of Fountains Abbey.

Afterwards the members assembled in the choir, when the Dean read a paper, written by the Rev. G. W. W. Minns, on the acoustic properties of some underground passages near the choir, which had long puzzled the architects. It was clearly shown that they were intended to convey the sounds from the choir to the body of the church, thus literally making the stone cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber to answer it. Mr. Minns wrote: It is well known that the Greeks and Romans employed means for repercussion and increasing the volume of sound in their theatres; and Vitruvius* describes vessels of bronze (ἠχεῖα), in some cases of clay, which were placed under the seats and in cells constructed for this purpose, of which practice traces have been found in the ancient theatres of Italy and various parts of the Greek provinces. A discovery of a series of acoustic vases was made in the church of S. Blaise, at Arles, in 1842, when the question was revived. Since that time similar discoveries have been made in various parts of Great Britain. In Ireland, at the church of S. Mary, Youghal, co. Cork, a series of orifices, five in number, was observed at the western ends of the north and south walls of the choir, giving vent to an equal number of earthen jars, lying on their sides, and placed immediately behind them. At Fountains Abbey, in 1854, earthen jars were found embedded in the base of the choir screen.† At Norwich similar discoveries were made in the churches of S. Peter Mancroft and S. Peter per Mountergate. *Purposes suggested:* (1) Burning of incense; (2) Reception of the ashes of the hearts of canons attached to the church; (3) For wine, &c., to drink success to the commencing building; (4) For dove-cotes or columbaria; (5) For warming apparatus; (6) for ventilation. But most probably (7) for acoustic purposes. The question first received the attention of French archæologists upon the discovery at Arles; and was a second time brought under their notice, in

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* Lib. v., c. 5. *Cf.* Smith's *Dictionary of Roman Antiquities;* Art., "Theatrum."

† Cf. *Notes and Queries*, vol. x., p. 386 sqq., Nov. 11th, 1854.

1861, by a Swedish architect and two Russian architects, who made inquiry of the Parisian *savants* as to whether "cornets," or pots of baked earth, were found in the interior walls, or the vaults of French churches, as was frequently the case in the churches of Sweden and Denmark. The discovery at Arles was cited in answer, and a passage was quoted from MS. of fifteenth century, which throws so much light on the subject as to leave it no longer doubtful. The passage occurs in a Chronicle of the Celestins of Metz, under date 1432. It is as follows:—"It was ordered that jars should be put into the choir of the church of this place, because they made the singing better and resound more." Abbé Cochet of Rouen reports several occasions in which he has met with vases of this character. At Montivilliers jars with conical base were found at the four angles of the vault of the choir. At Fry, canton Argueil, four jars with handles. At S. Laurent-en-Caux a large earthen vessel placed in one of the angles of the choir, and entirely enveloped in mortar; its form well adapted for acoustic purposes, entirely unsuited for any other, being a cone closed at each end, and having no opening, but a neck issuing from the shoulders, and appearing a face of wall. (*Vide* diagram, *fig.* 4.) An additional proof of this use is furnished from a diatribe of seventeenth century, *L'Apocalypse de Meliton*, written against the religious orders:—"Of fifty choristers that the public maintain, there are sometimes not more than six present at the office: the choirs are so fitted with jars in the vaults and in the walls that six voices make as much noise as forty elsewhere." In Norwich the first discovery of these jars was made at S. Peter Mancroft in 1850, where, immediately under that part of the church formerly occupied by the choir stalls, were found two trenches running eastward as far as the stalls probably extended, being returned towards the west where the screen stood, and discontinued for four feet at the entrance of the choir; in fact, lying like two letters ⌊ ⌋ placed face to face (cf. *fig.* 1). Each trench measured thirty inches wide, about

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Fig 1. *Plan of S. Peter's, MANCROFT.*

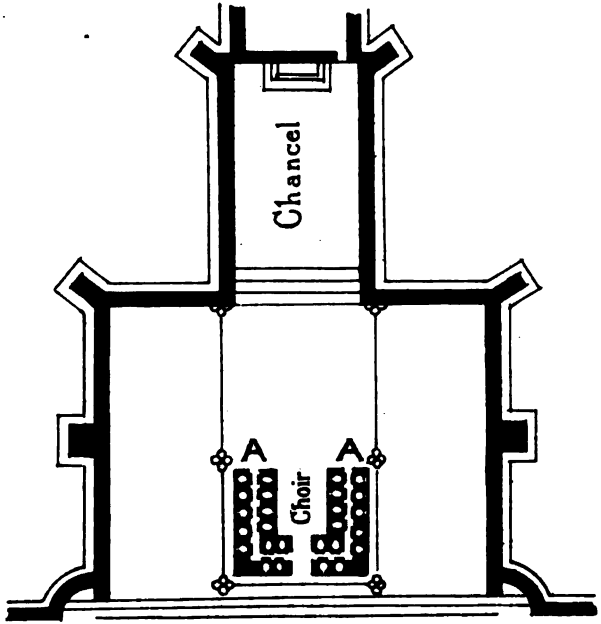
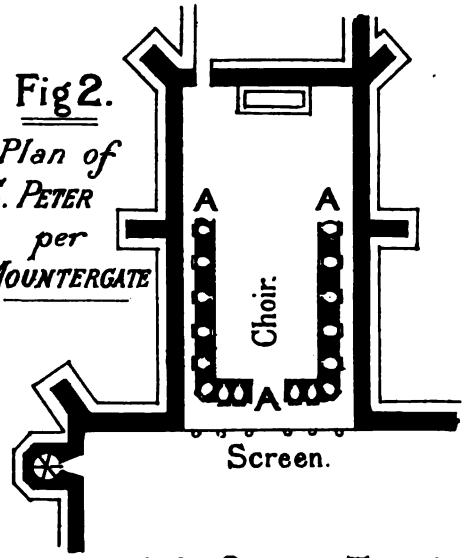


Fig 2.
Plan of S. PETER per MOUNTERGATE



A.A. Site of Trench & Wall containing Acoustic Jars.

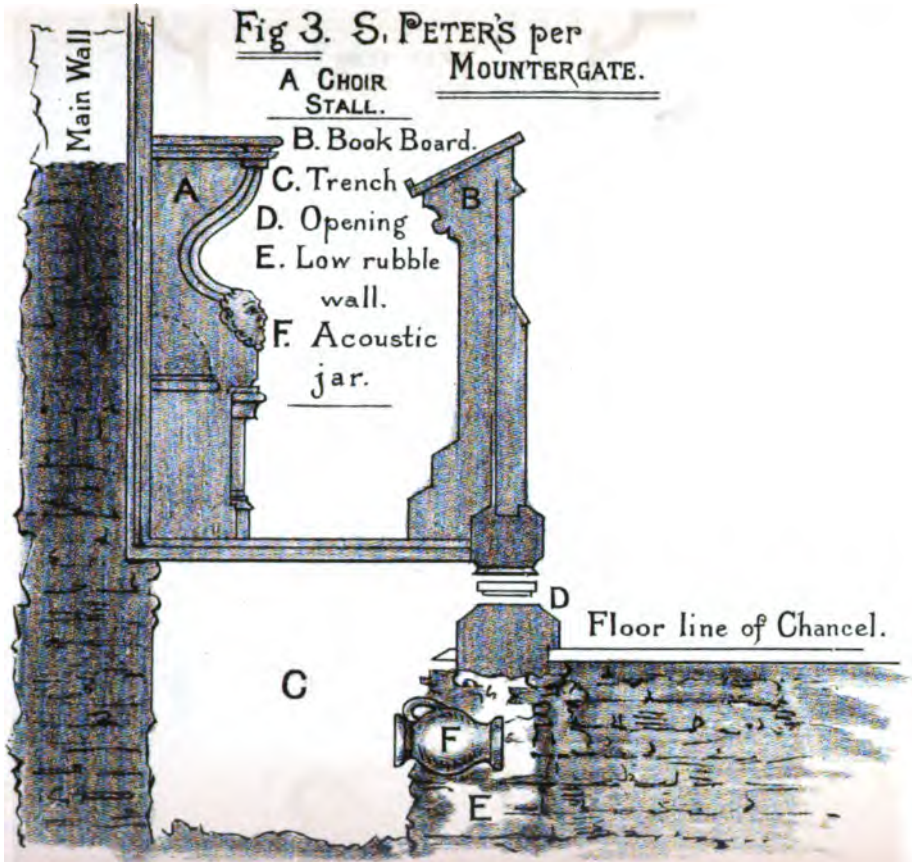
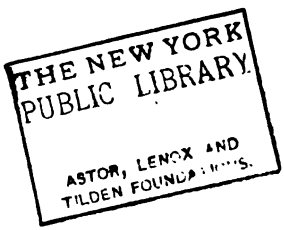


Fig 3. S. PETER'S per MOUNTERGATE.

A CHOIR STALL.
B. Book Board.
C. Trench
D. Opening
E. Low rubble wall.
F. Acoustic jar.

Fig 4.

Acoustic jar from ST LAURENT EN CAUX NORMANDY.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TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

three feet deep, paved at the bottom with yellow glazed tiles about eight inches square, and lined or bounded on either side by a low rubble wall one foot in thickness, into which wall were built numerous red earthen jars, having their mouths directed towards each other, within the trench, and presenting the appearance of guns projecting from a ship's side. Ten years later, a second discovery was made at S. Peter per Mountergate, 1860, of a similar character (cf. *fig.* 2). A probable conjecture of the system is given on *fig.* 3. The jars at S. Peter Mancroft had no ears nor handles. Those at S. Peter per Mountergate had both.

A vote of thanks was accorded to the Dean and his associates for their courtesy to the party, on the motion of the Rev. Percy M. Herford, M.A., seconded by Mr. J. E. Bailey. The latter gentleman remarked that while following the fingers of their accomplished guides as they had pointed out in the ruins the work of the masons and carpenters at successive eras, and while admiring the beauty of the handiwork, he could not help recalling the circumstances of the erection of the buildings of King Solomon, aided by the artists of Tyre, and by his own workmen, whose reverence for the place was so deep that they wrought without allowing any sounds to escape from their tools of steel—

> Then rais'd the Palace; then, in awful state,
> The Temple raised its everlasting gate;
> No hammers fell, no ponderous axes rung,
> Like some tall palm the mystic fabric sprung!

After the Dean returned thanks, the company left the abbey.

Saturday, June 26th, 1886.

MARPLE HALL: JUDGE BRADSHAW AND MILTON'S VISITS TO CHESHIRE.

A meeting of the Society was held at Marple Hall, which was the residence of Judge Bradshaw, who signed the warrant for the execution of Charles I., he being Lord President

of the Council. The members, to the number of fifty, were met at Marple by Mr. Joel Wainwright, who acted as leader. A pleasant fieldpath was taken from the station to the hall, where the party was received by Mr. and Mrs. Bradshaw-Isherwood, who conducted them over the premises and gave interesting descriptions of the pictures, arms and armour, and other works of art. The principal front is on the south side, from which a porch, supported by stone columns, forming the central projection from the house, gives admission to the entrance hall, which is forty feet long and twenty feet wide, lighted at each end by long low mullioned windows. It contains some fine old oak furniture, and against the walls are disposed suits of mail, morions, corslets, and implements of war, that have no doubt done duty in many a well-fought field. On the left of the entrance is the library, twenty feet square, lighted on the south side by a mullioned window filled with stained glass, and having the armorial ensigns of the Bradshaws and their alliances carved upon the wainscot. On the same floor and adjoining the library, is the dining-room, a spacious apartment thirty feet by twenty feet, with an oriel window at the north end, commanding an extensive view over the valley of the Goyt and the surrounding country. The walls of this room are hung with portraits, several of them from Arderne Hall, said to have once belonged to the Alvanley family. Near to the front entrance is a broad oaken staircase, with decorated balustrades, leading to the upper chambers. One room is a tapestried bedchamber, where, tradition says, the Lord President first saw the light, and the very bed on which he slept, an antiquated four-poster elaborately ornamented, with a cornice round the top, with the following admonitory sentences carved on three sides of it :—

> Fear God and not gold.
> He that hath mercy of mercy shall find;
> He that lacks of mercy of mercy shall want.

A flight of circular steps leads from one of the rooms to the drawing-room, which is immediately over the dining room.

and corresponding with it in dimensions. It contains some family and other portraits. After partaking Mr. Isherwood's hospitality, the party proceeded under the guidance of their host to visit the stables, which are very extensive. They are partly of stone and partly of brick, and with their quaint gables, pinnacles, and clock tower form a picturesque grouping. They are commonly supposed to have been erected by "Colonel" Henry Bradshaw for the accommodation of his Roundhead troopers, but the idea is dispelled by the initials B.H.E. and the date 1699, an evidence that they were erected in more peaceable times by Henry, the Colonel's son and successor, who married Elizabeth Bancroft and became heir to much of his uncle's wealth. Afterwards the members assembled on the terrace, when the Rev. G. W. Reynolds was voted to the chair; and Mr. John Eglington Bailey read a paper on Judge Bradshaw in connection with Milton, and with the visits of the latter to Cheshire. He said: The interest attaching to Marple Hall lies in its association with Judge Bradshaw, the intimate friend of Milton. There were a succession of Henry Bradshaws; and the family of Colonel Henry, the father of the judge, and their position towards each other, is best remembered by a verse afterwards made in the judge's name:—

> My brother *Henry* must heir the land;
> My brother *Frank* must be at his command;
> Whilst I, poor *Jack*, shall do that
> Which all the world will wonder at.

It is not unlikely that Milton was acquainted with this hall; and some, who have loved to dwell upon the pretty view which it presents from the valley below, have pleased themselves in thinking that it was the eminence alluded to in the *L'Allegro*, when the poet, referring to the scene before his eye, says:—

> Towers and battlements it sees
> Bosom'd high in lofty trees,
> Where perchance some beauty lies,
> The cynosure of neighbouring eyes.

There are intimations in the early life of Milton that he knew Cheshire, and Dr. Masson says that he may have visited Lancashire. In the former county his old school-mate at St. Paul's, Charles Diodati (nephew of the famous divine of that name), was practising medicine: but Milton's intercourse with the district has well nigh been lost, and his friend died in 1638. One of Milton's letters specially refers to a communication which he had received from Diodati "from the western shore of Chester's Dee." In that district the poet indeed may, when visiting his friend, have met with a Cheshire lady, Jane, daughter of Thomas, Viscount Savage, of Rock Savage, one of the most beautiful and accomplished women of her time, who, within a year after her marriage to the Marquis of Winchester, died April 1631, aged 23, under affecting circumstances, just at the time when it was said she was about to become a Protestant. Milton's well-known tribute to her memory was as follows:—

> Gentle lady, may thy grave peace and quiet ever have;
> After this thy travail sore, sweet rest seize thee evermore.
> Here, beside the sorrowing that thy noble house doth bring,
> Here be tears of perfect moan wept for thee in Helicon,
> And some flowers and some bays, for thy hearse to strew the ways,
> Sent thee from the banks of Came, devoted to thy virtuous name.

The masque of *Comus* at Ludlow Castle might also have brought Milton to these regions. A copy of one of Milton's books at Worsley Hall has a Latin inscripton, meaning "The author worthy of the fork, the book of the flame." The relation between the judge and the poet was very close; the former in 1654 bequeathed £10 "to Mr. John Milton." The Free Library copy of the *Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano*, octavo, 1654, was, by the kindness of Mr. C. W. Sutton, here handed round to the members, containing at page 106 the noticeable reference, in grave and emphatic language, to "*Johannes Bradscianus*, nobili familia, ut satis notum est, ortus"—"a name consecrated by Liberty to immortal renown in every country where her power is acknowledged." In this eloquent tribute to the career of his friend, Milton

exhibits much familiarity with his private as well as his public character. "In domestic life to his utmost power he is hospitable and splendid; amidst all the vicissitudes of fortune a friend most faithful and firm; instant and eager to acknowledge merit wherever it is discovered, as well as most munificent to reward it. The pious, the learned, the eminent, in every walk of genius, the soldier, and the hero, are either relieved by his wealth, if in distress, or, if otherwise, are cherished by his kind attentions and regard." Bradshaw's character has been deeply coloured by his connection with that trial of the king, when he presided over the court, "with all the pride, impiousness, and superciliousness imaginable" (Clarendon). Such books as the *History of the King Killers*, and the "poor, little, brown, lying *Flagellum*," present him in the blackest light. Yet his republicanism was as staunch as that of Milton, and was evidenced by his protest to Cromwell, 20th April, 1653, when that dictator dissolved the Long Parliament. "No power under heaven," said he, "could dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that!" It was unfortunate that but very few personal papers or memoirs were left to indicate Bradshaw's true character, and to guide the critic to an accurate delineation of it. But there is an exception in the case of his will, dated 22nd March, 1653-4, which indirectly tells much of his springs of action. Mr. Bailey here exhibited an old copy of Bradshaw's will. The exordium, he said, was very striking, and seemed to caution us against too readily believing what is often said, that this portion of the ancient wills was copied from forms or models in books of precedents. The gravest moment of a man's life, when he is called upon to review his relations to his Maker, his family, and friends, is not a moment when he stands in need of borrowed language; for his feelings prompt the sentiments of his heart. The opening sentences in these old testaments often express the spirit and philosophy of a man's life. "In the name of God. Amen. I, John Bradshawe, Serjeant-att-Law, and Chief Justice of

Chester, being in good health and perfect memory, praised be God, yet sensible of the uncertaintye of this fraile life, find itt fitt and convenient, having through grace this opportunitie lent mee to make and declare my last will and testament. First, I bequeath my soule to Almighty God, trusting—through faith in the blood of his Son my Saviour—to be made partaker of everlasting life, and that my sinnes being graciously pardoned I shall appeare clothed in the righteousness of Christ my elder Brother, to whom, with the Father and Blessed Spiritt, be glory and prayse for ever. My body I commend to the earth to be interred in decent and Christian buriall at the discretion of my executor if I dye neare her, otherwise of such servants as shal be about mee, without observing the vanitie of any funerall pompe." The will is chiefly concerned with the administration of the large property which the testator had acquired in the counties of Middlesex and Kent from the confiscated estates of the Royalists. The spirit of the document shows that he was a just and benevolent man. He had been brought up at Middleton School, near Manchester, the foundation of the famous Dean Nowell, whose brother Robert, attorney of the Court of Wards, had said to him about six hours before he died, "Forget not Middleton School, where we and our brethren were brought up in our childhood;" and that good man endowed it. Bradshaw was bountiful to this foundation, as well as to that at Bunbury, Cheshire, where also part of his education was received. His interest in Marple was also manifested, evidencing a close intimacy with this hall. He devoted the huge sum of £700 to maintain a free school at this village. None of these bequests were, however, carried out, owing to his property at the Restoration reverting to its former possessors. There are enumerated in the will many gifts to his servants, of whom, as a public official, he had a large number. The concluding passage is very noticeable, being an earnest and touching encouragement to his wife (Mary, daughter of one of the Marburys, of Marbury, Cheshire), whom he very tenderly loved.

The judge had some presentiment when he penned the will that his departure would precede hers; and he introduces that grand and familiar description of the Almighty in Isaiah as the Guardian, from generation to generation, of the families of the just:—"I do lastly make my said and well-beloved and dear wife my sole executor of this my last will and testament, desiring her to put her trust in him who is the Rock of ages, and will be a husband that cannot be taken away." He died at Westminster Deanery in October, 1659, and he was buried in the abbey. His heir was his nephew Henry, son of Colonel Henry (1601-1662), who lived 1635-1698, chief mourner at the funeral; and he had a special bequest of the judge's law books and such divinity, history, and other books as the executrix should judge fittest for him. Milton's reminiscences of the county of Chester were remote when in 1662 he married, for his third wife, Elizabeth, "daughter of Mr. Minshull, of Cheshire." Mr. Fitchett Marsh was the first to show that she was the daughter of Randle Minshull, a yeoman farmer of Wistaton and Nantwich, being born at the former place, and baptised there 30th December, 1638. Seven years after the death of Milton she returned from London to Nantwich, and died in 1727.

Some books, with Bradshaw autographs, which once formed part of the library at Marple, were then exhibited, all having the same autographs, except one, that of Colonel Henry Bradshaw, the brother of the judge, who took a very keen interest in the politics of the time. The other autographs were those of Henry, the son of the colonel. The first book shown was a translation of an Italian work by Malvezzi, called *Romulus and Tarquin*, "now taught English by Henry Earl of Monmouth," third edition, 12mo, 1648. The autograph is on the title-page. The second book was a volume of tracts, 4to, chiefly relating to the year 1659, and the troubles of that year. The name "Henry Bradshawe" is on the first tract, and his monogram, H.B., is at the end of the book. The autograph of the colonel also occurs in

this volume, upon a fine political paper by William Ashhurst, M.P., dated 1648. This autograph was identified by Mr. Heginbotham, being the same as that engraved in the *Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Historic Society* for 1863, page 92. The judge was in the custom of buying tracts in London, and sending them to his brother, to Marple. These ultimately formed a very fine collection, and they were bound in thick quarto volumes. In these latter days they got into the library of the late Mr. James Crossley; and at the sale of his books in London they were purchased for a library almost as inaccessible as his own—in California!

The Rev. Percy M. Herford, M.A., of Gatley, likewise described a book from his library associated with the family, also containing the autograph of Henry, the judge's nephew and heir, dated 1662. This volume must have been regarded with very unpleasant recollections by the family if they read it, being by James Heath, who, as the author of the *Flagellum*, has been termed "Carrion" Heath. The book was *The Glories and Magnificent Triumphs of the Blessed Restitution of his Sacred Majesty*, 12mo, 1662, at which time the colonel was dead.

Mr. Heginbotham also offered for inspection a folio volume, dated 1689, containing the same signature, being Selden's *Political Discourse of the Laws of England.*

A hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Isherwood, who, during Mr. Bailey's address, passed round to the company a small seal, silver-mounted, said to have been used by the judge when signing the historic death-warrant, viz., argent two bendlets between three martlets sable. Mr. Isherwood further said that there was formerly in the library a volume presented by Milton "to my cousin Bradshaw." It was, he added, always a pleasant task to open the old hall to those who showed an intelligent interest in it; and it had been especially the case in the present instance, when he had heard so many instructive things said of it and its former inmates.

Friday, July 2nd, 1886.

FLIXTON AND ITS HISTORY.

The members of the Society visited Flixton, and, after seeing the church and Asshawe Hall, were entertained at Reade House by Mr. and Mrs. S. J. Reade. A meeting was held on the lawn, under the presidency of Mr. John Noton.

The Chairman, in some introductory remarks, referred to the men of note associated with the locality in which they were assembled. John Collier (Tim Bobbin), the "Lancashire Hogarth," was born at Flixton. He was an "original" of a somewhat coarse kind. The great religious reformer, Wesley, says in his journal, under the date April 4th, 1779, "In the afternoon, Friday, I opened the new chapel at Davyhulme;" and several times before that he had preached in a cottage near Mr. Norris's park gate. When the congregation was too large for the cottage, he gathered the people in front of it, under an old yew tree. That tree was cut down a few years ago, and he (Mr. Noton) found it overgrown with nettles, among other old timber waiting to be sawn up. One of the chief actors at Waterloo, Sergeant Ewart, who fought for the standard, lived at Bent Lanes; and the world-famous missionary, Dr. Moffat, often came here, for he married Miss Smith, the daughter of a nurseryman, whose house was within a stone's throw of that lawn. Here he came, after years of labour in South Africa, to rest during two years in his father-in-law's house, while he translated the Bible into the Bechuana language. In the seventeenth century the fighting Egertons were here; they were Parliamentarians; the Ormes of Urmston, and the Lathums of Irlam Hall, were Royalists. Edmund Lathum, of Irlam Hall, was baptised at Flixton Church, December 20th, 1616, and as the pitiful record has it, "died August, 1652, having suffered sequestration of his estates." The Ormes passed through the same painful process, and seem to have decayed from that day. One of the earliest and most redoubtable warriors of the valley seems to have

been Robert Warburton, of Newcroft Hall, who, in the year 1397, received the distinction of "Sagittarius de Corona," with sixpence a day for life.

Professor D. J. Leech, M.D., read a paper on "Flixton and its Church" (see p. 182).

The registers, which were begun in 1570, are in fair preservation, and contain many entries relating to the Asshawes and to the Egertons. Mr. Royle and Mr. Walkden showed some deeds illustrating the statement that land was sold off by the Bartons. Both sets begin with the conveyance of plots of land from the executors of Randle Barton to local families, probably to tenants. Mr. Walkden's plans were accompanied with a curious old map of the land. Messrs. J. Eglington Bailey, George Esdaile, the Rev. S. H. Parkes, G. C. Yates, and other gentlemen took part in the proceedings. Several interesting books, old deeds, and other documents relating to Flixton were exhibited and described. Mr. C. W. Sutton exhibited handbills of the wakes at Flixton, Urmston, and Eccles.

Mr. John Noton had prepared a paper on Flixton, in which he advanced reasons for surmising that in its neighbourhood the famous battle of Brunanburgh was fought. There was no time for the reading of the paper, but the main portions may be given. Mr. Noton said: In order that we may understand better the topography of this place, let us remember that this valley of the Mersey is bounded on the south by a range of hills running from Bowdon to Frodsham, and on the north by another range, running from Pendlebury to Winwick. In this valley the river Irk runs into the Irwell, the Irwell into the Mersey, and the Mersey into the sea. Double and treble place-names are common, showing how one race after another has harried over the ground. Our river Mer-sey is twice named, and so is the Ir-well, and so is the tumulus, at the bend of the river, where the Bollin flows into the Mersey. This tumulus is called Muck-Low-Hill; big, hill, hill; and so we see how, after the Saxons were conquered, their language was

partially forgotten. Roman remains have been found in abundance down both sides of the river, but probably the oldest and most valuable relic of antiquity, here, is the so-called Plague Stone, laid by the road side at Stretford. The stone, like the S S collar, on monumental effigies, has been the cause of more guesses than we should like to count. It is almost certain, however, that this relic of a far-away past, cannot be less than two thousand years old; and it represents the spirit of a far-off age, which had no Gildas to write about it. There is a similar stone on Whaley Moor, badly weathered; a very complete one stands at Compstall, not far from Romiley or Marple, and is known by the name of Robin Hood's Picking Rods. There is also another known by the name of the Bow Stones. But what are these silent stones, who cut them, and when? So far as we can tell, they are Druid Stones, Calvarys, or roadside praying places of our unrecorded ancestors, the ancient Keltic people of this island. Seeing that they are such rare and valuable memorials of our pre-historic age, is it not desirable that the Stretford authorities should put their stone back a couple of yards from the footpath, and rail it round, so as to guard it from injury? If it is true, as we think it is, that where this stone stood was holy ground long before the Romans came here, the relic is more valuable to most of us than any glacial boulder, and more worthy of special care. Further, this stone is typical of forms of religion which spread more widely and endured longer than any other the world has ever known. The new Buddhist casts on the walls of the staircase of the British Museum are akin to these stones, and so are many other strange monuments which are only familiar to the student in bye-ways of literature. But to come to historic times, let us remember that this valley was often, in days gone by, the fighting line, as the Rhine has been to the Germanic nations. It was so in the Roman time, for they had nearly to exterminate the natives on this side of the river before they could occupy it. Then the Druid stone became of no use, for Hercules and

Neptune were set up. After the Romans went there was another period of semi-extermination, and then, for gods, the Saxons set up Thor and Woden and Friga. But from the Roman days Christianity had slowly gained ground, till, in the tenth century, the storm gathered for the great struggle to decide the question whether this country was to be Pagan or Christian. That battle was fought at some place called Brumby or Brunanburgh, but the site is not fixed to this day. Although this fight went on for three whole days, between enormous numbers of men, and to decide such an important issue, a strange uncertainty has always hung about it. Seeing, then, that it is an open question and must depend largely on circumstantial evidence, let me try to show some reasons why it may have been fought lower down the river in this valley. The Christians had been slowly advancing northwards, and securing themselves with castles all the way—this was in King Alfred's days. In the year 914, Edisbury, commanding the line here from the Dee, was refortified and manned. In the year 915, the river Mersey was fortified with seven forts—some new, such as those at Runcorn, Thelwall, and Warburton; others old, as at the Roman forts, near the Central Station and Victoria Station, Manchester, and that on the Irwell Crag, Lower Broughton. The Christian king, Athelstan, became so strong that Howell, king of the West-Welsh; Constantine, king of the Scots; Owen, king of the Monmouth people; and Alfred, of Bamborough, all Pagans, renounced idolatry and submitted to him. But the Pagans could not settle quietly, and so Athelstan had to ravage part of Scotland. This brought about a great revolt and general confederation of all the Pagans, for a tremendous life or death struggle. The confederates slowly gathered towards Brunanburgh, the West-Welsh from the Llandudno side, the pirates from the Channel, the Irish from over sea, the Scots from the north, the Danes from Denmark, and a vast host of northmen from the Hull side. The question is, Where did they all gather? Where did Athelstan meet them with his Christian host? We

see that his fighting line was in this valley, fortified all its length; and with a safe range of hills occupied by his men on the south. The Edisbury fort, too, guarded his rear. It seems reasonable to suppose that he would concentrate here, on the Christian side of the Mersey and up the bank of the Irwell. From West-Wales the Mersey would be a convenient meeting place for the Pagans, and it would suit the pirates of the Channel, and the Danes under Anlaf from Denmark. The Roman road from the north comes direct through Lancaster and Preston to Warrington; most armies from the north have come that way, down to the days of Cromwell, who crossed there, following Charles to Worcester; so we should look for the Scots, who were at that battle, arranging to meet here. For the Danes and other Pagans on the other side of the island, there was also a Roman road to the same point. Taking all these facts into account, we think it is possible that this great host gathered on the hills on the right of this valley, and that the Christians met on the opposite slopes from Bowdon to Frodsham, on the south side. Now, let us suppose that the fight being over, some one comes and finds, at such a convenient and likely spot (1) a tumulus and a field of graves near the junction of two rivers (Brunnen); (2) a ford, called the Ford of the Dead (Latchford); and (3) a village, on the top of the first hill on the north side, called by the Saxon name of Winwick, or the Winning Field. Surely the traveller would say, at least, that some great battle was fought here; that, as the winning village is on the north side of the river, the victors came from the south, and also that, as the village has a Saxon name, the winning heroes were Saxons. To sum up still further, we see that at the period we are considering, England was really only christianised up to the fortified line of the Mersey, and that in the year 937 A.D. this side of the river and all northwards was only held down by force. All these considerations go to show, not a certainty, but a great probability, that the greatest battle ever fought on English soil was fought here.

When I stood on that field of graves with a labourer who worked there, he said that now and then he found bones "like bits of sticks," and he also said that he had found several pieces of bones "like pieces of skulls." The carnage of those three days must have been awful. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle contains the pœan of that victory, and records how the Pagans lost five kings and seven earls, and the king of the Scots lost his son on the fatal field. Six years ago, when I visited the tumulus, it was being slowly washed away by the Mersey. The grass, I noticed, grew coarser, on the long moulds, than in the other parts of the field. Our ancient memorials tend to disappear. The Abbey Croft at Warburton shows only by its name that the Premonstratensian Abbey once stood there, and the field is now almost as level as a table, though it is but about seven hundred years since that abbey was built. If my supposition is correct, the tumulus and the graves at Mucklow Hill were made nine hundred and forty-nine years ago. Let antiquaries say how much foundation there is for all this guessing. Some one may ask, Why take so much trouble to find out where the Battle of Brunanburgh was fought? Our answer is, that if Christianity is such a blessing to this country as most of us believe, surely some interest ought to be felt in the place where those sturdy Saxons of old laid down their lives to establish it.

Friday, July 9th, 1886.

BULL HILL.

The members, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, visited Bull Hill in search of flint implements. Bull Hill is one of the prominences of the Pennine range, and lies due south of Haslingden and west of Ramsbottom. In height it is considerably over one thousand one hundred feet. Holcombe Hill, at the base of Peel's Monument, is one thousand one hundred and sixty-two feet, and

Musbury Tor is one thousand one hundred and fifteen feet, but Bull Hill is higher than these. From the summit an extensive view is obtained. From it is seen Whittle Pike, Knoll Hill, Grant's Tower, the Peel Monument, Musbury Tor, Anlezark Moor, and other eminences, Haslingden, said to be the highest market town in England, and a charming view of the Rossendale Valley.

Bull Hill was one of the favourite hunting grounds of the late Captain Aitken, and from it he obtained several interesting specimens of flint implements. In a paper read by him before the Geological Society in 1877 he said: "It may be remembered that in course of a short paper contributed to this Society on June 30th, 1874, on the occurrence of High Level Drift in the neighbourhood of Bacup, I exhibited and referred to two flint flakes which I had obtained from the summit of Bull Hill, and at the same time pointed out that from their form and general character no doubt could be entertained that they had been produced by artificial means. Since that time further investigation at the same place has resulted in the discovery of some fifty or sixty flakes and chips, together with an arrow tip and a flint core, the number of small fragments at one spot being so great as to lead to the inference that a manufactory of flint weapons had been carried on there. The finding of worked flints in this position suggested the probability that a diligent search would reveal others in similar situations in the neighbourhood, and I have now the satisfaction of announcing that, through the exertions of a number of observers, worked flints have already been discovered in three or four additional places; the most interesting discovery, however, being at Tooter Hill, an elevated and prominent summit of the Pennine range, about two miles east of Bacup, where, in addition to a number of flakes of the usual type, a true-worked and well-formed arrow tip has been picked up."

The members were very successful in their hunting, for Mr. Yates discovered several small flakes and chippings and a flint scraper similar to the one figured No. 207 in Mr.

John Evans's book on stone implements, and which he described as a discoidal scraper. These implements are generally supposed to have been used for scraping skins. Mr. Yates also exhibited a flint flake and a beautifully-worked arrow head found on Bull Hill on a previous visit. The arrow head is lozenge shaped, and has been made from a very thin, transparent flake. It resembles *fig.* 297 in Mr. Evans's book. The most important find last week was by Mr. Thomas K. Holden, of Bury, who was so fortunate as to discover a finely-worked, barbed arrow head, similar to the one figured by Evans No. 306. It is quite white, with delicate intersecting lines traversing the surface, possibly through the action of fire. It is one inch and a half in length, and one inch in breadth at the barbs. It is beautifully formed and nicely worked. Unfortunately a portion of one barb and the tip are broken. Mr. Holden also found the basal portions of two arrow heads and three flakes. These implements were found on the surface of the ground from which about six feet of turf has been taken.

Dr. Colley March discovered several flakes and chippings on this hill. He says the neolithic floor is formed in East Lancashire, under a varying depth of from one to ten feet of peat. On a slope facing the south, lived a neolithic toolwright of ancient Lancashire. Here he kindled his fire, striking a light with flint and iron-pyrites. Here he kept his stone hammers, his store of silicious nodules, his ornaments and curiosities, and the hematite or raddle with which he stained his body. Here he made his manifold implements, sitting we may suppose on the ground, with a block of wood between his knees on which to place the flint pebble, the raw material of his manufacture. Around him as he worked fell minute chippings, large flakes, spoilt weapons, and the useless core itself, while sometimes a finished tool escaped from his hand and was lost in the thick grass. There is reason to believe that he constructed for himself a rude hut of sandstone, since many flints have been found six or seven inches in a sandstone rubble, all levelled and

crumbled through lapse of ages and concealed by a varying thickness of peat. The most remarkable and characteristic part of his workmanship lay in the production of a number of minute implements, used probably for boring eyes in needles, for engraving patterns on shafts and handles, and perhaps for tattooing. Tools of flint so diminutive as these, some of which are only a quarter of an inch long, have, I believe, been found in no other part of the world. But they made other implements in great variety—knives, scrapers (both hafted scrapers and thumbstones, some of the latter being very small), arrow tips, and spear tips. It may be noticed that all the neolithic stations in this district, hitherto observed, occupy defensive positions on rounded eminences, of an altitude of often more and seldom less than one thousand feet. It may be observed that the nearest chalk district to Bull Hill is Flamborough Head.

Monday, July 19th, 1886.

IRLAM HALL.

Several members of the Society, under the leadership of Mr. George C. Yates, visited Irlam Hall. They were met by Mr. Ashe, the present tenant, who conducted them through the hall, and pointed out the principal objects of interest. The roof of the tower was ascended, and from it a very extensive view was obtained; the route of the Ship Canal for some distance being clearly defined. The members afterwards assembled on the lawn and Mr. C. W. Sutton was voted to the chair. Mr. G. C. Yates gave some particulars of Irlam Hall. He said: Irlam Hall, a mansion of the Elizabethan age, late the property of the late Mr. John Greaves, of Salford, is now owned by Mr. J. Browne, and occupied by Mr. Ashe. The edifice contains a principal beam of massive size, the largest probably in the county, but not now visible on account of recent alterations. In the seventeenth year of the reign of King John (1215), the

Abbot of Cockersand claimed exemptions by royal charter from certain fines and amercements in his abbey lands of Irwelham, Barton, Workedeley, Clifton, and Mawyngton, in this parish, but his claim was disallowed. It was the property of the Irlams in the fifteenth century, and had passed to Sir George Lathom, knight, in the time of Edward VI. His descendant, Thomas Lathom, lived here in 1681, and his estate was alienated at the Revolution. Jane, his daughter and sole heiress by survivorship, married, about 1693, John Finney, of Fulshaw Hall, co. Chester, gentleman, and had a son, Captain Samuel Finney, living in 1741. The estate, after being in the possession of the Stanleys, was purchased from the Pages by John Greaves, of Highfield, Esq., who died 10th December, 1815, and was succeeded by his son John Greaves, Esq., who died July 8th, 1849, unmarried; and his sister resided at the hall till her death in 1866. He it was who built the tower and some other portions of the hall, bought the carved doors and had them put in, and also caused the water spouts, bearing various ancient dates, to be fixed as they are now seen. Mr. Yates also read a short paper prepared by Mr. John Noton, relative to the architectural features of the building.*

The Chairman, Mr. Albert Nicholson, Mr. D. Smith, Mr. Bowden, and others took part in the subsequent proceedings.

Mr. Nicholson referred to Mr. Greaves's remarkable collection of pictures, books, and curiosities, which were sold about twenty years ago, and mentioned that an interesting local scrap-book was purchased at that sale by the overseers of Manchester, and is now preserved at their offices.

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* Mr. Noton has since pointed out, in a communication to the *Manchester City News*, 31st July, 1886, that a notice of Mr. Greaves, who effected the strange alterations at Irlam Hall, is given in Grindon's *Manchester Banks and Bankers*.

Saturday, July 31st, 1886.

WINWICK, ITS CHURCH AND TRADITIONS.

About forty members of the Society visited Winwick. On arriving at Newton Bridge the party were met by Mr. J. E. Worsley, F.S.A., who acted as leader and lecturer. At Newton Hall they were received by Mr. Wright, who conducted the members over the premises and pointed out the numerous objects of interest. Before leaving, Mr. Wright exhibited his fine collection of deerhounds to the party. The "Bloody Stone," situated on the roadside to Winwick, was examined, and the leader gave several legends in connection therewith, one of which is that Sir William Bradshaghe, who was a great traveller and a soldier, was married to Mabel, daughter and sole heiress of Hugh Norris de Haghe and Blackrode. He being away for ten years in the Crusades she married a Welsh knight. Sir William, returning from the wars, came in a Palmer's habit to Haigh. When his wife saw that he favoured her former husband, she wept, for which the knight chastised her. Sir William made himself known to his tenants. The knight fled, but near to Newton Park Sir William overtook him and slew him, and this stone, which was on the spot where he was killed, has the bloodmarks to this day. Another legend is that Cromwell used this stone for beheading the Royalist prisoners. On arriving at Red Bank, the place where the encounter took place in August, 1648, between Cromwell and the Duke of Hamilton, Mr. W. Norbury read the following extract from Carlyle's *Cromwell*:—"At a place called Redbank, near Winwick Church, two miles from Warrington, the Scots made a stand with a body of pikes, and lined the hedges with muskets, who so rudely entertained the pursuing enemy that they were compelled to stay until the coming up of Colonel Pride's regiment of foot, who, after a sharp dispute, put those same brave fellows to the run. They were commanded by a little spark in a blue bonnet, who performed the part of

an excellent commander and was killed on the spot. Does anyone know this little spark in the blue bonnet? No one. His mother has long ceased to weep for him now. Let him have burial and a passing sigh from us." Cromwell in his despatch says: "We could not engage the enemy until we came within three miles of Warrington, and then the enemy made a stand at a place called Winwick. We held them in some dispute till our army came up; they maintained the pass with great resolution for many hours; ours and theirs coming to push of pike and very close charges, which forced us to give ground. But our men, by the blessing of God, quickly recovered it, and charging very home upon them beat them from their standing, where we killed about a thousand of them, and took, as we believe, about two thousand prisoners, and prosecuted them home to Warrington Town, where they possessed the Bridge, which had a strong barricade and a work upon it, formerly made very defensive. As soon as I came thither I received a message from General Baillie desiring some capitulation to which I yielded. Considering the strength of the pass and that I could not go over the river within ten miles of Warrington with the army, I gave him these terms."

Passing over Hermitage Green, the members arrived at St. Oswald's Well, traditionally said to be on the spot where the sainted King Oswald was slain in the year 642, in a battle fought with Penda, King of Mercia, at a place called in the English tongue Maserfelth. Two parishes claim this spot as within their borders, and both have some evidence in common, and both places date from Saxon times. Both churches are dedicated to St. Oswald, and both possess a St. Oswald's well; and while the old name of Oswestry was Maes-hir, Mesafeld, or Mesafield, the earliest comparable mention of Winwick calls it Ecclesia Sancti Oswaldi de Macrefeld. The name of Oswestry is derived from Oswald's tree. Winwick, we are told, means the place of fight or victory. The spot where Oswald fell, Bede relates, was celebrated for restoring health to men and beasts, and the

earth having been carried away by persons anxious to avail themselves of its marvellous powers, a well or fosse had been formed. After Oswald's death, Penda caused his head and arms to be cut off and fixed upon stakes, and the friends of Oswestry say this accounts for the name of Oswald's tree; but might this not have been by Penda on his return to his own kingdom of Mercia? The question is, was Oswald invading Mercia, or was he attacked in his own kingdom of Northumberland by Penda? Nennius complicates matters by stating that the battle took place at a place called Cocboy. Winwick is about three miles north of Warrington, on the old coach road from that place to Wigan. It was until a recent date an extensive parish, and the richest rectory in the kingdom. In the churchyard is a portion of a beautiful Saxon cross, which has been used as a grave-stone. It is an evidence of Christian worship here in the seventh century, and may have been erected to the memory of Oswald. Near it is an ancient font, octagonal in form. It is twenty-six and a half inches in diameter and eighty-eight inches in circumference, the sides are eleven inches deep, and are ornamented with quatre-foils repeated all round to form a pattern; these are most beautifully carved, and belong to the period in architecture before the quatre-foil had developed into the ball flower ornament, which afterwards became so common, good examples of which may be seen in the chancel rebuilt by Pugin in the church. The date of the font is about the fourteenth century, and it is probable that it was placed in the church at the same time that the present tower and spire were built, which was about 1350. There is a Latin inscription on the south wall of the church put up in 1530; it contains a prayer to St. Oswald, who, it states, was killed at Marcelde field:—

Oswald, this ground was grateful found
to thee; whose hand Northumberland
late ruled, now owns Celestial thrones.
In Marcelde field thou life did yield.

On the west front of the tower on the south side, and in such a position that it would be at the feet of the figure, occupying a now empty niche, is the figure of a pig, with a bell tied round its neck. The Winwick people tell visitors a strange story in connection with this piece of sculpture, which is as follows: When the building of the church was in contemplation it was decided that it should be built at the bottom of the hill on which the present structure stands, and stones were got together at that place, and the foundations laid. But when the masons left at night the stones were all carried up the hill, and placed on the present site of the church by a miraculous pig, who had a bell tied round its neck. This was repeated every night, and though the masons carried the stones back in the day, every morning they found them removed, and the wonderful pig's bell was heard all night ringing as he laboured up the hill with the stones, and the sound was supposed by the terrified villagers to say Win-wick! Win-wick! At last the builders contended no longer against so manifest and inconvenient an interposition. The site was changed, the place was called Winwick, and the figure of the miraculous pig was carved upon the tower to perpetuate its memory. Baines in his *History of Lancashire* says: "A piece of rude sculpture or stone resembling a hog fastened to a block by the collar, has been adduced as a proof of the antiquity of the Church of Winwick, on the supposition that this was the arms of Oswald; but the heralds assign to that monarch, 'azure a cross between four lions rampant or;' superstition sees in the chained hog the resemblance of a monster which prowled over the neighbourhood, in former ages, inflicting injury on man and beast, and which could only be restrained by the subduing power of the sacred edifice." In a note to what has gone before, he adds, "It is probably only a rude attempt to represent the crest of the Gerards—a lion rampant, armed and langued, with a cornet upon the head; see the oak carving (formerly in the Gerard chapel in Winwick Church) dated 1471." Mr. Keightley, in his learned and

ingenious dissertation on popular traditions, has traced several stories to a similar source. The animal, however, is clearly a pig passant, and no amount of ingenuity could transform it into the Gerard crest, and the superstition of the desolating monster is unknown to the traditions of the fertile fields of Winwick. There is a similar legend in connection with the building of the ancient parish church of St. Chad at Rochdale, where the church is said to have been removed by evil spirits.

Mr. Worsley said he thought there was a very simple explanation of the mystery. The present tower and spire were probably built circa 1350, for by a Norman-French deed, dated at Warrington, 25th December, 25 Edward III. (1351), Gilbert le Norreys sold to John de Haydok certain chattels, out of which he was to pay xxxviiis. ivd. left by the will of Gilbert de Haydok, "a la fesaunce de l'Eclise de Winwick." Probably this bequest was for the building of the steeple; and the Haydok and Southworth shields on the parapet of the steeple probably go back to this time. Now at that time the church at Winwick had been established on its present site several centuries. The pig occupies a position at the foot of an empty niche, and Mr. Worsley believed that niche to have been occupied by a figure of St. Anthony, whose emblem was a hog, with a bell tied round its neck; for it is found in the middle ages when St. Anthony was represented, whether in sculpture or in painting, he was almost invariably accompanied by his emblem, the hog. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, says that St. Anthony, who lived circa 1231, was the patron of the lower animals, and especially of hogs.

The interior of Winwick Church, which is Saxon in its original foundation, presents a curious combination of the Norman and Tudor architecture. The east window is a fine piece of the pointed style by Pugin. There is a large collection of monuments, slabs, and brasses in various parts of the church. They refer to the families of Legh of Lyme, Claughton, Stanley, and Hornby of Winwick. The Leghs

of Lyme, in Cheshire, own property at Newton, and were a most powerful family at Winwick. Sir Peter Legh, who died at Lyme A.D. 1527, was buried at his request in Winwick Church, and, to use the language of the time, "pictors" of himself and wife, with his arms, decorate his tomb. The present Bishop of St. Albans represents the Claughton family. Warden Stanley, of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, was also rector of Winwick. He became Bishop of Ely, and is buried in the Stanley Chapel of Manchester Cathedral. The Hornbys held the rectory of Winwick for several generations. The pillars and arches in the north and south bays are very interesting. The restoration has been well carried out. After tea the members visited Winwick College, and examined the old tapestry, paintings, and carved oak therein, belonging to Mr. Worsley.

Saturday, August 21st, 1886.

VISIT TO ALDERLEY.

About forty members of the Society visited Alderley under the leadership of Mr. George Pearson. Chorley Old Hall was examined, and whilst in the grounds Mr. William Norbury gave a short history of the hall.

The members then proceeded to Alderley Church, pausing on the way to examine the old cross and the mill. At the church the members were met by the Rector (the Rev. E. J. Bell), who conducted them to the old schoolroom, and there gave an excellent address on Gothic architecture, illustrated with a series of diagrams prepared by Mr. J. S. Crowther, Dr. Renaud, and other members of the Society. The members afterwards visited the church, which was described by the Rector. After tea at the Eagle and Child, the members assembled on the lawn at the rectory, Mr. J. Holme Nicholson, M.A., presiding.

Mr. William Norbury then read a paper on "Chorley and

the Hall and Houses in the Neighbourhood" (see p. 99). At the conclusion of the reading of the paper, a vote of thanks was accorded to its author.

Monday, September 13th, 1886.

QUEEN'S PARK MUSEUM.

A number of the members of the Society paid a visit to Queen's Park Museum. Mr. W. Wareing Faulder, who had lent to the museum a collection of old arms and armour, was the leader. At the outset the company assembled in the entrance hall, and

Mr. Faulder gave some information as to what is to be seen in the museum, and how the collections are arranged. He said that the present building was by the energy of the Parks and Cemeteries Committee of the Manchester Corporation opened about two years ago. Previous to that time there was a collection of miscellaneous curiosities kept in a building on the same site, but it could in no sense be termed an art museum. The committee had been so fortunate as to secure as curator his friend Mr. Charles G. Virgo. Since the present museum was opened, in addition to the objects now on view, there had been exhibited the Marquis of Bute's collection of paintings by old masters. Although hardly likely to be generally interesting or popular, this collection was of the highest value to artists and art students, as it included many exceptionally fine specimens. It had now been replaced by an exhibition of modern pictures, which, from their pleasing subjects and great variety of treatment, were likely, he thought, to be of greater educational value in this neighbourhood than the previous collections. The time of the company that evening would be taken up by an examination of the objects of industrial art. In Room A, on the ground floor, there was a collection of food products; and Room C contained natural

history specimens. These scarcely came within the scope of their Society, but in Room B would be found some most interesting objects. He pointed out as exceptionally fine a palanquin (one of the Prince of Wales's Indian presents) made of ivory and ebony, and mounted with gold. It displayed beautiful workmanship and the most exquisite taste. Although nearly as large as a cab, the fretwork in ivory with which it was decorated was as delicate as one would find in a lady's cardcase. In the same room would be found a curious collection of old standard weights and measures, many of them dated, and a very fine collection of Chinese and Japanese objects, the property of Admiral Sir H. Keppel. The objects included porcelain, enamels, bronzes, and some highly-finished ivory carvings. In a room upstairs he directed attention to a case of china lent by the Hon. W. F. B. Massey-Mainwaring. It contained most choice and beautiful specimens, and would gladden the heart or excite the envy of any collectors of Chinese objects. There were collections of ancient and curious arms, and four cases filled with a beautiful group of enamels collected by Mr. Mückley, late head master of the Manchester School of Art, and lately presented to the Manchester Corporation by Mrs. Abel Heywood, who by her munificence had prevented the dispersion of objects of art such as could probably never be brought together again. It was to be hoped that her example would be followed by others of the many wealthy citizens of Manchester. Among the weapons lent by the South Kensington Museum was a rapier, formerly the property of Lord Ellenborough, which from its beautiful design and exquisite workmanship is perhaps the finest sword in England. There was a great variety of weapons, of eastern and European manufacture, including a very fine series of firearms lent by the Birmingham Corporation. In the large room at the back of the staircase he should like the members to notice the beautiful collection of objects of ecclesiastical art lent by Mr. J. F. Hutton. Among them were some splendid ivory

carvings, beautiful reliquaries of metal and of rock crystal, and plaques of Limoges enamel. There were also some cases of enamels from Mr. Mückley's collection, a group of blue and white china contributed by the Mayor of Manchester (Mr. Goldschmidt), and several cases of rapiers from the Queen's collection at Windsor Castle. The rapiers were fine specimens of workmanship in metal of the last century. Some horse trappings were lent by the Prince of Wales, an ivory bed and a very fine howdah, and there was also a chair formerly belonging to King Coffee. This chair was interesting, for in the absence of information we might, from its construction and decoration, have almost thought that it was made in Europe in the sixteenth century. In the same room the company would see what would perhaps interest them as much as anything in the museum, namely, a set of excellent photographic views of the old halls of Lancashire and Cheshire, many of which had been lately visited by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. There was also an interesting reproduction of the Bayeux tapestry.

The company then separated, and about an hour was pleasantly spent in examining the various collections in the museum. At the end of that time the members were again gathered together, Mr. Albert Nicholson took the chair, and a joint vote of thanks was passed to the Parks Committee for allowing the visit, and to Mr. Virgo (the curator) for his courtesy and aid during the inspection.

The election of the following new members was reported: James Booth, Robert K. Freeman, Mrs. Martin, H. W. Underdown, George Carew Wales, W. Alfred Watson, Thomas Kay, Thomas Ball, Miss Ives, J. E. P. Lawton, Ellis Lever, Rev. P. M. Herford, M.A., W. Ford Smith, E. H. Waters, Alfred Güterbock, Dr. W. H. Clarke, J. Robertson, and Henry E. Ermen.

Saturday, September 25th, 1886.

VISIT TO THE BOW STONES.

A large party of the members of the Society visited the Bow Stones, under the leadership of Mr. Isaac Watt Boulton. On arriving at Poynton the members proceeded by a pleasant path past Lyme Hall, and then by a steep ascent up Parks Moor to the Bow Stones, which were carefully examined. Whilst all were assembled on the spot, the leader pointed out and gave interesting particulars of some of the chief places of interest in the immediate locality. After tea at the Ram's Head, Disley, Mr. H. H. Sales was called to the chair.

Mr. Boulton, in response to a request to give a short description of the district, said: When I first visited this place now many years ago (over forty) it was a place very little known, and seldom visited by strangers, and only by country people knowing and using the old country foot-roads. Situated as the Bow Stones are, close by the side of the old—may we say first—cartroad from Disley to Macclesfield, they may be passed and not observed. When I first saw them I was very much struck by their antiquated appearance, and as there can be no doubt of their great antiquity, I felt surprised in recent years when, conversing with educated men and others who have a liking for the antique, that they seemed to know nothing of them. When I first saw them I at once noticed the peculiar carving of the top end of the round pillar towards the east. At this time the carving—wreath, fillet, or whatever you may call it—was more distinct than it is now, and it was evident that it had been done by a clever workman. It is suggestive at a glance to a man of mature years. The idea that first struck me was that this carving had been done by some wag, or by some clever man when in a frolicsome mood. It is still very perceptibly suggestive; and if we are to believe that the carving was originally there when the Bow Stones were first erected, I think we may reasonably allow that they were put

there as an object of worship, and may have been there before the days of Christ. Bow Stones is a most remarkable spot for many reasons. It is about one thousand three hundred feet above the sea-level, and many places of antiquity can be seen from it. The similar stones (and the only similar stones I know of) known as Robin Hood's Picking Pegs, on Ludworth Moor, are within sight of Bow Stones, being only about five miles off as the crow flies; also the tumulus on Ludworth Inticks. The ancient stone at Warnedge Rocks and the remains of the tumulus on Whaley Moor, Chinley Churn, Eccles Pike, the site of an old Roman racecourse, Combs Moss (old Roman station or camp), Peeks Hill adjoining Mam Tor (old Roman encampment)—all these places can be seen from Bow Stones. We are also within sight of Dickies, where the skull is deposited, and which was said to have had so much to do with the building of Dickies Bridge on the London and North-Western Railway, near to Combs reservoir. There is a fine view of Shuttling Low, which lies about eight miles to the south; and we are in full view of Windgather Rocks, Peym Chair, and part of the old Roman road which has been traced from Bramhall, past Biling Head, Pike Low, Blueboar, Jenkin Chapel, and Within Leech (old Roman station). Then, again, on Sponds Hill there is a tumulus within a mile of Bow Stones. From the wall bounding Sponds Hill on the west there is one of the finest views anywhere about the country. From this spot on a clear day more than a thousand square miles of Old England can be seen, namely, parts of Staffordshire and Shropshire, a considerable part of Cheshire, and beyond Chester into North Wales, a good part of Lancashire, some of Yorkshire, and Derbyshire as far as Kinder. Within sight of Bow Stones on the south end of Whaley Moor there is an ancient stone that tradition tells us is even older than the Bow Stones. It is within two miles or less, as the crow flies, and can be seen plainly on a clear day. It is close by the side of a very old road which is now seldom used. It has two recesses or basins on its

top side, with a bar across its middle which divides the basins. The bar is not more than four or five inches wide. The idea that suggests itself to me is that it is or was a plague stone, or rather that it has been placed there close by the then roadside, and the basins have contained water, in which the people having any transactions with the people in the Lyme Handley or Bow Stone district dropped their money before being taken possession of by the people in the non-affected district. The stone, as I have said before, is close to the old roadside leading from Whaley or the Longside district, past Stone Heads to Bow Stones. In the fields and on the hillside close to Bow Stones there are five graves, with stones over them, bearing inscriptions. Tradition tells that the plague visited this district in 1646. The inscriptions on the stones are as follows :—

Here lyeth the body of Helen Blackwell,
who died July 26, 1646.

Here lyeth the body of Ralph Blackwell,
who died July 26, 1646.

There is another gravestone over the first stile, away from the house going towards Disley. All I can make out on this stone is, " Here lyeth." In a pasture field down the side of the hill, about two fields away from Bow Stones, there is another—

John Hampson, his wife, and their three
children, departed this life 1646.

And in a meadow adjoining, and within a few yards, there is another stone with this inscription :—

Think it not strange my
Bones lye hire; thine may
Lie thou knowst not where.
Elizabeth Hampson.

I have often thought it strange that we should hear of the plague visiting this district in 1646, which is nineteen years before we hear of the great plague of London in 1665. I have read of the plague at Eyam, in Derbyshire, and have visited the Riley graves there, but if my memory serves me,

this was about the same time as the plague in London. I don't recollect hearing of the plague visiting any other part of the immediate neighbourhood, either on the border of Cheshire or Derbyshire. The stone I have referred to on the south end of Whaley Moor, with the two recesses, is just like the great or plague stone at Stretford, and also like another stone I have seen many years ago near Boughton, Chester, and known as the Plague Stone. Referring again to the Bow Stones, I think it is quite probable they have been placed there as an object of worship. This suggestion will perhaps have more force when we bear in mind that less than twenty miles away, on the summit of a hill in the same range, there are remains of a fine Druidical temple, Arbor Low, with its thirty or forty immense slabs of limestone, some of them eight or nine feet long, and with its extensive earthwork still perceptible, measuring nearly one hundred yards across, and extending many hundred yards, this earthwork connecting Arbor Low with a large grave mound known as Gib Hill.

Mr. Yates exhibited photographs of the Bow Stones, Robin Hood's Picking Rods, and the Plague Stones on Whaley Moor and at Stretford, and also a sketch of some similar stones in the Fiji Islands. Mr. Yates said: In the Fiji Islands rude consecrated stones are to be seen near Vuna, where offerings of food are sometimes made. Another stands on a reef near Naloa, to which the natives "tama;" and one near Thokova, Na Viti Levu, named Lovekaveka, is regarded as the abode of a goddess, for whom food is provided. This is like a round black milestone, slightly inclined, and having a liku (girdle) tied round the middle. In Ireland in the fifth century, King Laoghaire worshipped a stone pillar called the Crom-Cruach, which was overthrown by St. Patrick. Another stone at Clogher was worshipped by the Irish under the name of Kermand-Kelstach. There was a sacred stone in Jura, round which the people used to move "deasil," *i.e.* sunwise. In some of the Hebrides the people attributed oracular power to a large

black stone. In the island of Skye, in every district, there is to be met with a rude stone, consecrated to Gruagach or Apollo. The Rev. Mr. M'Queen, of Skye, says that in almost every village the sun called Gruagach, or, the Fair-haired, is represented by a rude stone, and he further states that libations of milk were poured on the Gruagach stones. Caillié observed near the negro village of N'pal, a sacred stone on which everyone, as he passed, threw a thread out of his pagne or breech-cloth as a sort of offering.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin wrote: As many contradictory opinions exist as to the nature and uses of these stones, I may as well briefly repeat what I have lately written in *Roman Cheshire* (p. 315) about them. That they were in use in Saxon and mediæval times as a boundary mark, is quite possible; that they have perhaps had scroll work, or some ecclesiastical ornamentation above the fillet is also possible, but that they were originally Roman, I have not the least doubt. Mr. Coote's remarks upon them in his *Romans of Britain* (p. 98) seem very conclusive. He says: "In explanation of the terminal character of these curious stones I will offer the following references: There is to be found in the *agrimensura* 'lapis intra lapidem,' both 'in trifinis' and 'in cursorio.' There are 'tres termini in unum' described in the same science. There are 'termini factura tornatiles, hoc est rotundi subtilissimi' also found in it. These latter stood 'in quadrifinis.' The square hole let into the shorter stone is an unequivocal feature of termini. All these things summed up together lead to the conclusion that the object described by Mr. Watkin is trifinial." So far Mr. Coote. To which I may add that, in post Roman and Christian times the space above the fillet may have been carved with the ornamentation suggested by Mr. Earwaker; probably as they were originally heathen, the stones have been formally "blessed." That they were two "crosses," their proximity militates against.

Dr. Colley March said: The Bow Stones stand on the

summit of a ridge about one thousand four hundred feet above the sea-level. Each of them is about three feet in circumference at the base, and in height one is four feet and the other rather more than three feet. The upper portion of each column is encircled by a carved cincture, but probably the numerous other cuttings are recent disfigurements. The stones appear to belong to a well-known class of symbolic figures, widely distributed over the globe. In their most characteristic form the terminal portion is marked, as in the present instance, by a fillet, collar, or girdle, but this is by no means a constant feature. The filleted stone is met with in North and Central America, Fiji, India, and elsewhere, but it is in no place more pronounced than in Norway. The symbol is a very early presentment of the idea of life, or fecundity. It stood, one hundred and twelve feet in length, in the temple at Hierapolis. It is recognised in representations of Osiris, in Hermaic statues, in the phallus borne by Grecian matrons, in the misproportioned figure of the garden god Priapus, set up in the orchards of ancient Italy, and, as an ultimate survival, in the English Maypole of the spring festival. In India, under the name of Lingam, and often associated with its correlative the Yoni, it has been venerated as the emblem of fertility for long ages, and in some temples of to-day, revealed by a gigantic god, usually in a sitting posture, it still receives the garlands and decorations of adoring women. In Norway the symbol is always found associated with an interment, as if pleading to the Eternal Energy, to the Everstanding One, for a renewal of life. It is probable, then, that the Bow Stones signify the sepulture of some pagan Scandinavian settler. In this connection it is remarkable that interments have taken place on this elevated ridge as late as the seventeenth century, as testified by three inscribed memorial slabs. The name, too, should be Norse, rather than Saxon. The O. N. "böllr" furnishes a suitable and very definite meaning, as given in Cleasby's Dictionary, in reference to the Laws of the Icelandic Commonwealth. Our own word "bole," the stem of a tree, is

cognate, and is derived from O. N. "bólginn," turgid, and "bólgja," to swell. Thus, it would seem that Bow Stones is a corruption of Bole Stones.

An interesting discussion afterwards took place, in which Messrs. Bowden, Oxley, N. Heywood, the Chairman, and others took part. A vote of thanks to the leader, on the motion of Mr. Bowden, seconded by Mr. Barrowclough, closed the proceedings.

Saturday, October 2nd, 1886.

ROCHDALE PARISH CHURCH.

About thirty members of the Society paid a visit to the Rochdale Parish Church, for the purpose of inspecting the interior of the edifice and of noting the alterations recently made therein. The party assembled in the churchyard shortly before three o'clock, and here they were met by Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick, who conducted them to the principal entrance on the south side of the church, where they were formally introduced to the Rev. Canon Maclure, the vicar, who had been awaiting their arrival.

Canon Maclure then conducted the party to a point near the western door of the church, and standing here he briefly addressed them on the various matters of interest connected with the church. He believed, he said, that the party had come there as antiquaries to look at the old church. There was not a very great deal left of the old church there, but if they would look to their right, to the south-western end of the church, they would see there a respond which dated from very early in the thirteenth century. Some of the pillars also no doubt belonged to the original church, but the church itself for the most part seemed to have been built at three different periods. The church had been rebuilt since the original church was erected, but it was clear that there was a church in existence there at a very early time, probably shortly before the Conquest. Then in the sixteenth century

there was put upon the church as it then was a clerestory, which, as the visitors might now see, was not a very handsome specimen of the perpendicular. In altering the church recently they had been proceeding in the way which they thought their forefathers would have adopted, that of working eastwards of the chancel arch. That arch was not an old one at all, for it was built last year, or at least during the year which ended on the 28th of October, 1885. There was before then existing there an arch of a very mean and indifferent character, which Mr. Crowther, the architect, imagined and believed was inserted there in order to bear the thrust of the clerestory. The probability was that in the first instance the church was a church with a nave and aisle, but without any clerestory, and that the clerestory was added as he had already told them. Colonel Fishwick knew something about that matter, and the party would find a record of it in the book, *Vicars of Rochdale.* They had been undertaking during the past month a work of some historical interest, which he should like to describe to them. It was this. They had left enough to show what was the level of the floor of the nave during, at all events, a considerable part of the last thirty years. During the past month they had lowered the floor of the nave something like twelve inches. The pews near which the visitors were standing represented the height of the pews in the nave of the church until this year of grace 1886, and for the last, perhaps, thirty years. In conducting that alteration they had found that the pillars in the church had been tampered with at some previous time in the history of the church, but not during the existence of any present generation, or of the immediate forefathers of the generation that those now present in the church represented. According to the theory of Mr. Crowther the pillars had been shortened a foot; at any rate they had been lengthened a foot during the past month. The workmen had dropped the base plinth and everything by a foot deeper down in the foundations, and had restored, as they believed, the original lines and levels

of the church. But there had come to his (the speaker's) observation this week something that Mr. Crowther had not yet commented upon, but which was explained apparently in the book, *Vicars of Rochdale*. The north side appeared to have been rebuilt at some time or other, and when they had got down to the line and level they had now taken—which was the original line and level of the church—they found that the foundations did not go down quite as far as they had gone in making the alterations, and they had had to underpin the pillars there. On the other side of the church, however, the foundation had gone down to the necessary depth. One could hardly believe the difference which this last alteration had made in the church. He had called it an alteration, but it was really a restoration to the lines of antiquity. The pillars and arches were before miserably dwarfed, and entirely destroyed the conception of their ancestors who built that church, and who knew what they were doing when they built it. It was most remarkable that the alteration should have produced such a result, and yet it was not remarkable, because it was simply a restoration of the church to its former appearance. Mr. Crowther had not altered the base or plinth at the north-western end of the church, he had thought it best to leave it as it was; but in all other cases the old line and level had been restored. In the progress of the work there had been brought to light several gravestones which had previously been hidden, and it had brought more into relief the fine old arch at the eastern end of the church. He ought perhaps to add that during some of the alterations it was found that the old fabric of the north aisle had been most seriously interfered with—in fact, literally spoiled—by the architect who placed the roof on the church, and Mr. Crowther thought there was nothing to preserve there, as that side was completely new in the memory of man, the first part dating only from 1853. On the other side there was what was called the Dearden Chapel or the Byron Chapel, but which he preferred to call, on account of its dedication, the Trinity Chapel, which was

now used for divine service. That chapel had been found in recent years to have been so seriously interfered with, and in such a state of decay, that they had abandoned it and gone in for something entirely new eastward of the chancel arch. The ground near the old chapel was found so riddled with interments that it was quite unsafe, and as the whole thing might have come down at any time, and there was nothing there to conserve, the old chapel was taken down about 1845, and the chancel subsequently altered.

The Rev. R. S. Rowan observed that thirty years ago the roof of the church was not pointed as it is now, and that it was then covered with lead. He added that he could remember the time when the floor of the nave was altered to what was its level about a month ago.

Canon Maclure stated further that below the plinths and bases of the pillars there had been found nothing but rough rubble walling, and Mr. Crowther supposed that the bases of the pillars had been tampered with many years ago, and that those who had done it had been guilty of the atrocity of pulling out about a foot of the work which had now been put in again. After again referring to the way in which the eastern arch of the church, which was a genuine relic of antiquity, dating back to early in the thirteenth century, had been spoiled, Canon Maclure thanked the party for their attendance, and hoped they would find a great deal of interest in the church.

Colonel Fishwick then observed that Canon Maclure had given the party so many details about the points of interest connected with the church and about its re-building that there was not much that could be added. It would perhaps be sufficient for him to remind the party that the church of Rochdale was of very old foundation, and that during the re-building of the church in the last century there were found undoubted remains, if they might trust Whitaker, of a zigzag moulding of unquestionable Norman origin, and also a one-light window built into the stone work of one of

the walls. They might take it for granted that a Norman church and possibly a Saxon church existed in Rochdale. The first absolute mention of the church was early in the thirteenth century, about the years 1211 or 1212, but from other evidence it was clear that a church did exist there in 1190. Very soon after that date it became part of the possessions of the abbots of Stanlawe, and followed the history of that house under the abbots of Whalley, who appointed monks of their order to officiate as the vicars of Rochdale. As to the date of the present building they might, he thought, be safe in saying that it was erected sometime in the thirteenth or very early in the fourteenth century. The arches, of which there were still some remains, were possibly built about that time or a little later. The church was subsequently enlarged, probably by the addition of the north aisle, and the style of architecture was altered to the perpendicular as it was now seen. Canon Maclure had called their attention to the respond at the south eastern end of the church, and he (Colonel Fishwick) might say there was another at the other end of the church, of about the same date. Those responds showed exactly the dimensions of the old church. He was inclined to think with Canon Maclure that the arch at the western end of the church was a very old one, because although the tower above it had been re-built in his (the speaker's) time it was re-built on the old lines, and he did not think it was brought further down than the arch. The lord of the manor's chapel, which stood near the respond on the south side of the chancel, had really nothing to do with the lords of the manor of Rochdale, excepting that one of them had purchased it. The chapel had stood until lately within a wooden screen. It was founded by some local men, who called themselves the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, and engaged a priest to say prayers there. In that chapel a "De profundis" used to be said daily for the souls of the founders. On the opposite side there was until 1615 a chantry dedicated to St. Catherine. There was no docu-

mentary evidence in existence concerning the foundation of St. Catherine's chantry, but there was very little doubt that both those chapels were erected about the end of the fifteenth century, when the church—or rather the outer shell of the church—was re-built. He (the speaker) did not think the arches and pillars had been touched at that time. Quite recently two arches had been added to the church beyond the chancel arch. As to St. Catherine's chantry, tradition had it that that chantry stood on the space occupied until recently as a sort of class or singing room, and which had probably been used at some time as a vestry. On the present chancel stalls there were some carvings, some of which were modern and others antique, and he believed there were originally there some stall ends with carvings of the arms of the Byron family, and of families with which they had inter-married. In the Dearden chapel there were until recent days certain monuments of knights, bishops, and crusaders, but they were all representations of mythical individuals, or at least they had no connection with any past, present, or future lord of the manor of Rochdale. Somebody had, however, persuaded a past lord of the manor that those mythical individuals were connected with him, and he forthwith had their monuments placed in the chapel. They were not, however, connected with him in any way, and they had now been buried face downwards under the concrete floor of the chancel. What future antiquaries would make of them on digging them up it was impossible to say. A point of interest that the party should particularly consider was that of the insertion of stones in the pillars of the church. Mr. Crowther's theory, as explained by Canon Maclure, was that taking those pillars from the plinth to the capital without those insertions they would be out of proportion architecturally, and that no architects of the thirteenth or fourteenth century would have thought of putting an arch of the diameter of the present ones on pillars of that proportion. The floors of the nave had been lowered to the level of

some flat tombstones, which were uncovered, and which were supposed to be the original level of the floor, and during the progress of the work it was found that the bases of the pillars were of rough unhewn stone, which were several inches deep, and raised above the level of the tombstones. The theory as to that was that the original builders would never have left rough naked stones exposed to the sight, but that subsequent builders had shortened the pillars and raised the foundation as discovered. That was one way of explaining the matter, but it was not quite satisfactory to his (the speaker's) mind. It would indeed almost show that the level of the floor of the church was altered twice. It was possible that the original builder may for some purpose have built the pillars as they were found, and that when the church was pewed the occasion was taken to lower the floor of the church and cover up the round base of the pillars. Subsequently this was filled up again. (A Voice: Would not the dates on the tombstones prove something about that?) The dates on the tombstones, so far as they could be ascertained, were modern.

The party then proceeded to inspect the various points of interest in the church, Colonel Fishwick leading the way, and indicating for their edification the exact site of the Dearden or Trinity Chapel, and of the old yeoman's stalls, about which there was at one time a great deal of litigation, if not some fighting. A curious old brass, belonging to the Garside family, now fixed in the south wall, a few yards west of the organ, was also pointed out, and this appeared to be a great object of attraction to many of those present. Very little discussion arose during the stay of the members of the Society in the church, but Mr. Robert Langton observed that he did not believe that the responds which had been referred to in the addresses delivered date so far back as the thirteenth century. He, however, admitted that the arch at the eastern end of the church was a genuine relic of that period. The party subsequently divided into two sections, one proceeding to the house of Dr. Colley March to inspect

his fine collection of local flint implements, the other proceeding to Glebe House to inspect Mr. Charles Heape's ethnographical collection.

October 8th, 1886.

The opening meeting of the winter session was held at Chetham's Library, Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S., in the chair. He congratulated the members on the position the Society had attained. They had at present three hundred members, of whom thirty-four were life members. That he regarded as extremely satisfactory, and he thought that but for the indefatigable exertions of the secretary, Mr. G. C. Yates, so good a result would not have been obtained. So far as finances were concerned, they had £100 invested with the Manchester Corporation, and £144 in the possession of their bankers. Considering the times, he thought that was very good indeed, especially when they remembered that their publications had in no way been stinted, but had, in fact, largely increased. The establishment of that Society might be said to have been of distinct and clear advantage to Manchester. It had also been the means of bringing many people of different vocations together, and they might congratulate themselves on the present position of the society, the work it had done, and the work it had got to do.

Professor Dawkins then delivered an address on the study of ancient art, referring particularly to early Christian art as exhibited in the ornamentation of Runic crosses. That ornamentation, he said, had always been believed to be due to the early Irish missionaries. The illuminations of the Irish missals and the ornamentation on the crosses were of the same character, and hitherto most people had believed that both were the work of the early Irish missionaries. Indeed, many of his friends had regarded him as heretical because he had expressed the opinion that the Irish missionaries had very little to do with either. That opinion he

held very strongly, and he thought his opinion could be shown to be the right one. The ornamentation of Runic crosses could be clearly divided into two parts. One portion of it was, he believed, directly traceable to the ancient Etruscans, whilst the other portion was equally clearly traceable to the ancient Germans. The invasions of the Germans and the consequent fusion of the peoples led to the combination of the two portions, and he held that all the early Irish missionaries did was to foster and diffuse the art.

After the address an interesting conversation took place, in which the Rev. E. F. Letts, Dr. Colley March, W. Thompson Watkin, J. Holme Nicholson, Nathan Heywood, and Robert Langton took part.

Mr. Wm. E. A. Axon contributed the following paper on "The significance of the Kufic coins found at Cuerdale:" In the great find of coins at Cuerdale, in North Lancashire, besides a single Byzantine piece, there were several Kufic, some of North Italy, about a thousand French, and two thousand eight hundred Anglo-Saxon pieces. Worsaae, in speaking of some silver ornaments with a triangular pattern of three or four points, found at Cuerdale along with Kufic coins, says that "discovery of so many coins of this class in Russia, from the Caspian and the Black Sea up to the shores of the Baltic, sufficiently proves that from the eighth until the eleventh century there existed a very lively intercourse by trade between the last and the northern parts of Europe" (Worsaae's *Remarks on the Antiquities found at Cuerdale*, p. 2). There was even in pre-historic ages an active commercial intercourse between the eastern world and the people of the north of Europe, and especially of those dwelling on the shores of the Baltic Sea. This has been abundantly proved by the many archæological discoveries made from time to time.* Whilst Scandinavia was still in the stone and

* For further details on the commercial currency of the Arabic moneys, Worsaae's *Danes in England*, Le Bon *Sur la civilisation des Arabes*, 1884, and Ernest Babelon, *Commerce des Arabes dans le Nord de l'Europe avant les Croisades* (Paris, 1882), may be consulted.

bronze stages of the development of civilisation, merchants came to the Baltic for furs, tin, and the yellow amber, so highly prized as an ornament by the oriental women. Indeed, Oppert has shown that ten centuries before the Christian era the Assyrians had at least indirect communications with the Baltic shores—the only locality known to the ancient world where the yellow amber could be procured. The references to amber in Homer and Hesiod have not passed without dispute, but the discoveries of Greek coins in various parts leave little or no doubt as to the existence of commercial routes which went from the Black Sea by the Dnieper, the Bug, and the Dniester to gain the basin of the Niemen and of the Vistula, and thence spread to the Baltic. The amber commerce in the hands of the Milesians and the Greeks found various routes. The Roman women were as passionately partial to amber ornaments as their sisters of the East, and there is sufficient testimony as to the commercial intercourse of Rome and the barbarians of the North. The Arabs, although in the middle ages they had the monopoly of the trade, were not its originators, but merely continued an intercourse that had existed from remote antiquity. The mediæval geographers had very little precise knowledge, but in the "Mappa Mundi" of the tenth century, in the British Museum, the parts of Northern Europe indicated with the fewest misconceptions are the countries of the amber trade. The rapid conquest of Western Asia by the Arabs was followed by those internal dissensions of the victors which led to the formation of independent kingdoms. The Samanides, who reigned in Persia and dominated the shores of the Caspian Sea, were the principal cultivators of the North trade. The Arabs, if they had little taste for maritime commerce, were admirably adapted to be the leaders of great caravans, by which the riches of the East were spread into far lands. From Egypt they went across the Sahara to Nigritia, from whence they brought gold, ivory, and slaves. Passing through Persia and Cashmere, they worked in the direction of India. Crossing

the immense steppes of Tartary, they entered China by the province of Shen-si. Their caravans to Europe passed by Armenia on the south, and by Bokhara and Khorassan on the east. There were great fairs at Samarcand, Teheran, Bagdad, and other places. The merchants directed their course to the Caspian, and halted at Derbend before ascending the Volga. The itinerary of these pilgrims of commerce can be reconstructed from the Kufic coins and accompanying ornaments that have been found at Kazan, Perm, Tula, Moscow, Smolensk, Novgorod, St. Petersburg, and other localities. The finds of Arabic moneys in the Russian Empire have occurred almost exclusively in the country watered by the Volga, which was the line of communication for the Arabs with the Slavs and Scandinavians of the middle ages. The shores of Germany, Lithuania, and Sweden were visited. The most northerly discoveries of Kufic coins have been by the river Angermann, which empties itself into the Gulf of Bothnia. The islands of Gothland, Oland, and Bornholm appear to have been the centre of this commercial activity. Lithuania, Denmark, and Poland, especially the last, have also yielded to the antiquarian investigator many evidences of intercourse with the Arabs. On the coasts of Pomerania and along the course of the Oder Kufic coins have been found, the southern limit being apparently in Silesia. Arabic coins have been found in Cumberland, in Yorkshire, and, as we have seen, in Lancashire. The Vikings, who are usually regarded as simply pirates, had their share in this commerce. From the East came rich fabrics, ornaments, and vases; and their bearers carried back in return ermines, furs, slaves, and, above all, amber, which, whilst valued as an ornament, was also credited with wonderful powers of preserving the health of the wearer. This commercial intercourse did not have so much social or political result as might have been expected from four centuries of activity. The grave events alike in Asia and in Europe which followed the fall of the Samanides interrupted its peaceable course,

and before it could again fall into the old tracks there came the tempestuous interlude of the first crusade.

This paper was illustrated by a number of the Cuerdale coins exhibited by Mr. N. Heywood. A discussion took place in which Professor Dawkins and Messrs. S. Jackson, R. Langton, W. W. Faulder, N. Heywood, and Dr. Colley March participated.

Mr. James Croston, F.S.A., contributed a paper on "The Baguley Hall Warrior" (see p. 149).

Mr. G. C. Yates exhibited various old newspapers, 1667-1691, and some rude pottery from the Hebrides, which he considered to be the remains of an ancient cinerary urn. Professor Dawkins stated that up to a very recent period very rude pottery had been made and used by the natives of that district.

Mr. T. Oxley exhibited a prehistoric stone found in a Scotch grave mound.

The election of the following new members was reported: Chas. Arning, jun., Dr. Judson Bury, J. A. Eastwood, Dr. Richard Fletcher, Arthur Thomas Holden, Arthur W. Massey, Henry Pearson, Maskell Wm. Peace, C. F. Pike, Thos. Edward Smith, J. R. Taylor, Captain W. H. Tristram, Chas. G. Virgo, Thos. W. Hand, Alfred Crompton, jun., Rev. Wm. Henry Chesson.

Saturday, October 9th, 1886.

VISIT TO BOLTON.

Local Committee.

Thos. Holden.	Jas. Finney.	W. A. Posnett.
R. H. Ainsworth.	W. W. B. Hulton.	J. C. Scholes.
Edmund Ashworth.	S. Jackson.	B. T. Barton.
J. R. Barlow.	Dr. Wm. Y. Martin.	G. J. French, *Hon. Sec.*

About eighty members paid a visit to Bolton, and were entertained in an excellent fashion for six or seven hours. Most of the visitors left Manchester at two o'clock and were met by Councillor Finney, Mr. G. J.

French, Mr. J. C. Scholes, and Mr. B. T. Barton, who escorted them to the Mayor's reception room, where they were received by the Mayor of Bolton (Alderman Thomas Fletcher), Mr. Thomas Holden (chairman of the local committee), and the Rev. Canon Powell, amongst the other gentlemen present being the Rev. J. E. Hewison, M.A., Captain Tristram, and Messrs. R. G. Hinnel (town clerk), J. R. Barlow, B.A., R. K. Freeman, A. T. Holden, T. E. Smith, S. Jackson, James Clegg, W. F. Tillotson, J.P., and Councillor Cunliffe. After the formal introductions and an inspection of the Town Hall, the company went by omnibus to the Park, where they visited the Chadwick Museum. Here they were met by Alderman Dobson (chairman of the Park and Museum Committee), and Mr. W. W. Midgley (curator), and were at once shown to the machinery department, where Alderman Dobson briefly described Sir Richard Arkwright's carding machine and water frame. The first of these, he said, was taken from Sir Richard Arkwright's mill in Cromford, Derbyshire. It was the oldest machine of the kind extant; still it contained all the principles of the most modern machinery, the only improvements of the machinery of to-day being in matters of detail and the mode of construction. Arkwright's water frame was made and worked in 1769, and therefore might very well be considered a subject of antiquarian interest. Mr. Dobson next called attention to a loom one hundred and sixty years old which included all the old principles of weaving, the only difference between this loom and the one of to-day being that what was then worked by hand was now worked by machinery. On the loom was cloth being woven shortly before it ceased work. Attention was next called to the first improvement on the old system of spinning, this being shown by a machine made by an ancestor of Alderman Dobson's about 1830. It worked until a few weeks ago, having done its work well for fifty-six years. Indeed, it was in working order now. This machine was also almost perfect when constructed, the principle now adopted being almost the same,

clearly showing, Mr. Dobson remarked, that our ancestors well knew what they were about. A piece of shafting one hundred and thirty years old, taken from Arkwright's Derbyshire mill, having been dealt with, the cicerone exhibited and described Crompton's spinning mule, which Mr. Dobson described as the oldest spinning mule extant. It was not the original mule made by Crompton at Hall-i'-th'-Wood, but one upon which he worked in Bolton. It had originally one hundred and sixty spindles, and Crompton spun at it for his living for some years. When he left the old King Street mill the machine was left as of no value. Some years ago it was purchased by Alderman Dobson's firm, and they placed it in that institution, the most appropriate place for it. Many fortunes had been made through Crompton's genius; indeed, the man who made it was perhaps the only one who had not made a fortune out of it. Mules were now made containing from one thousand to twelve hundred spindles. Alderman Dobson at this stage introduced to the company a man named John Swithenby, eighty-six years of age, at present employed by the corporation as keeper of the park bowling green. He said he worked on the machine so long ago as 1820; in fact, he had worked since he was seven years old. Asked by Alderman Dobson if he was the oldest spinner in the world, he replied "Aye, I'm th'owdest onywheer." It may be mentioned that Swithenby is still a hale, active, and genial old man. He started work in the cotton mill as a piecer at Makinson factory, afterwards worked by the Skinner family, and situate at Great Bridge. He began spinning in 1817 at Knott Mill, Ashburner Street, now used as a warehouse by Messrs. Kershaw and Sons, leather merchants, and in 1820 was spinning on the identical mule made by Crompton, and now located in the Chadwick Museum. He followed a pair of wheels without interruption until 11th December, 1879, at which time he was employed at Prestolee Mills, then worked by the Prestolee Spinning Company, never losing a single hour from sickness, and never, from any cause whatever, having had a day's holiday, otherwise

than what was afforded by Sundays, thus covering an active service of seventy-two years in a cotton mill, an instance certainly very rare, and worthy of record.

Mr. J. R. Barlow described an interesting little collection of objects sent to the museum by the Committee of the Egypt Exploration Fund. He gave a short account of the work of the fund during the last three years in digging out and examining sites of Biblical and classical interest in the Nile Delta. The first site explored (under the direction of M. Naville) was a mound between Tel el Kebir and Ismailia. Lepsius supposed it to be the city of Rameses, and this name was accordingly given to the district and is borne by the neighbouring station on the Suez railway. M. Naville's excavations, however, brought to light hieroglyphic inscriptions which proved it to be not Rameses, but Pithom—the other "store city" built by the Israelites. "Pithom" signified the "abode" or "temple" of Tum, god of the setting sun, and was the religious or temple name of the place, but the civil name was Succoth, and this name was also given to the surrounding district. Here was a double identification, giving at once the site of Pithom and one fixed point for determining the vexed question of the route of the Exodus—Succoth being the first camping place of the Hebrews on their way out of Egypt. M. Naville found curious store-chambers, which justified the name of "store" or "treasure city" given to Pithom. They had walls from two to three yards thick; were without doors or windows, and must have been entered from the top by trap doors. They were built of three distinct kinds of bricks: (1) Those made from Nile mud mixed with straw; (2) those made from mud mixed with fragments of reeds (the papyrus of the Nile), the "stubble" of the book of Exodus; (3) those made from mud alone—the "bricks without straw." A statue of Rameses II. between the two city gods identifies him as the founder of Pithom, and therefore also as the Pharaoh of the Oppression. The second site undertaken by the Fund was San el Hagar, a series of mounds in the Menzelah district, the site of the

Biblical Zoan, the Greek Tanis—a city which according to the book of Numbers was built seven years before Hebron. Zoan was the seat of government of the mysterious Hyksos or shepherd kings, whose celebrated portrait statues Mariette discovered there years ago, and placed in the Boulaq Museum. The mounds at Zoan cover so great an area that the surface has literally only been scratched, but a thorough investigation would probably do much to solve the mystery of that strange line of kings. Moreover Zoan, as the nearest city to the land of Goshen, and the favourite home of Rameses II. and Meneptah his son (the Pharaoh of the Exodus), should disclose something concerning the history of the Hebrew colony. Statues of earlier kings were found, which Rameses had appropriated by erasing the original names and substituting his own. At the same time Mr. Flinders Petrie was also at work upon the site of the Greek city and port of Naukratis on the Kanopic branch of the Nile. The Greeks had come into Egypt originally as mercenaries and remained as traders. To the conservative and protectionist Egyptian these pushing foreigners were an abomination. When, therefore, Amasis in the sixth century B.C. seized the throne, he had to face the problem of making friends with the Greeks, who might be useful to him, and allaying the jealousy of the Egyptians. He did this by limiting the privileges of Greeks elsewhere, and confining them to this one city, which he granted to them as their port, with special privileges. Here they could import their goods from the Mediterranean. Ebers, in his charming book, *The Egyptian Princess*, makes Naukratis the home of his heroine, and describes very vividly the life of the place. Naukratis was celebrated for its fine Greek pottery, and the potters' quarter has been laid bare, with the drying rooms, ovens, and inevitable heaps of débris. In this collection there are some lovely little terra-cotta heads, which recall the beautiful Tanagra figures which are to be seen in many of our museums. The numbers of fish-hooks, oyster shells, and sticks with barnacles attached point

to the sea-faring habits of the population. But perhaps the most fascinating discovery was that of little collections of models of workmen's tools, sacrificial vessels, and samples of building materials placed in cavities in the foundations at the corners of the temple. A curious parallel to this is found in our modern custom of placing a bottle containing coins, &c., under our foundation stones. Mr. Petrie's last discovery was in the N. E. Delta, where he explored some mounds called by the Arabs Tel-Defenneh. This site he identified with Tahpanhes, the Daphnae of Herodotus. There seems no reason to doubt that the remains he has dug out are the ruins of the very palace to which, as recorded by the prophet Jeremiah, Johanan brought the daughters of Zedekiah. They were hospitably received by the Pharaoh (called Hophra by the Hebrews), and he assigned them this royal palace, which Jeremiah calls "Pharaoh's House in Tahpanhes." The explorations laid bare the domestic offices, the most interesting of all being the scullery, with its dresser recess and sink. Mr. Petrie writes: "The sink is formed of a large jar with the bottom knocked out and filled with broken potsherds placed on edge. The water ran through this, and thence into more broken pots below placed one in another, all bottomless, going down to the clean sand some four or five feet below." The potsherds in this sink were closed up with fish bones. *The Times* of June 18th had a very full and interesting account of the discovery of Tahpanhes. The amount of good work done by the fund during its three years' existence is wonderful; but it is obvious that very much yet remains to be done. Even whilst these explorations have been going on, priceless treasures have been swept away before our very eyes. The decayed mud bricks of these sandy mounds form a rich manure which the Arabs and fellaheen are carrying away by tons every week, and the more substantial buildings are the stone quarries of the district. Positive history, the history the old Egyptians wrote themselves on their monuments and temples, is passing away from us beyond recovery with the dust which manures the fields of to-day! England has

an opportunity now in her present position in Egypt. Will she be worthy of it? It is not too late yet to rescue something. Labour is cheap and tools are plentiful. Oh, for picks, and the wisdom of the Egyptians is ours!

The visitors re-entered the vehicles and were driven along Spa Road and Deansgate into Churchgate, where the site of the execution of James, seventh Earl of Derby, A.D. 1651, was pointed out, as well as the Man and Scythe Hotel, where he spent the last hours of his life. Driving on to the Parish Church, the visitors were received by the Rev. Canon Powell, vicar of Bolton and rural dean, who explained that the church was erected by the late Peter Ormrod, Esq., at a cost of £45,000, which had been increased by additions to £60,000. The east window was put in at a cost of £800 before the church was consecrated as a testimonial to Mr. Ormrod, and the west window, at a cost of one thousand guineas, by Mrs. Rushton, in memory of her husband, Thomas Lever Rushton, Esq. Selections of music having been played on the organ by Mr. William Best, jun., the company repaired to the vestry and inspected the old registers and communion service. The registers were of considerable bulk, the oldest entry being dated 1587, whilst the communion plate dated from the time of the Commonwealth. The tower was ascended by means of a narrow, winding, stone staircase, and here Mr. Jas. C. Scholes exhibited a series of archæological relics of the old edifice, sketches of which had been made (and copies distributed to those present) for Mr. Scholes's forthcoming historical work on the church. Descending the tower the visitors assembled in the nave of the church, where the following paper was read by Mr. Scholes on

THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH CHURCH.

Including the magnificent edifice in which we are now met, there have been no fewer than four churches, at various periods, erected on or near this site. There can be little doubt from the remarkable relics just seen in the tower, which were brought to light during the demolition of the late church in 1866, that a church of no mean construction existed

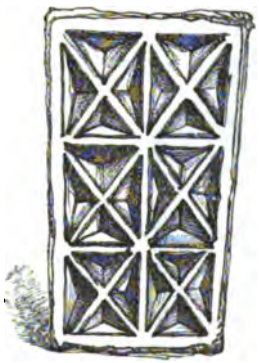
here in Saxon times, and that it was standing at the time of the Norman Invasion, after which period it was restored by the Normans. To prove the statement, a careful examination must be made of the stones unearthed some twenty years ago, during the preparations for erecting the present church.

The first stone of interest to which I wish to direct your attention belongs to the period before the Norman Conquest, and is that upon which is cut two grotesquely-rude figures, probably representing Adam and Eve in the act of eating of the forbidden fruit; with the hand of the Tempter uplifted to grasp that of Eve. The stone is supposed to date from the tenth century, and to be of unique design. There are also two fragments of a cross of a kind of stone different from that of any of the other objects it is at present intended to describe. There is little doubt that the cross is

of Saxon origin, and has probably at one time occupied a position in the ancient burial ground. The most interesting discovery during the demolition was that of a stone upon which is carved the representation of a dragon or some such fabulous creature. The angles of the stone have been cut away, and,

though the mutilation is unfortunate for the deciphering of its design, it enables us to positively assert that at least three churches previous to the present one have stood upon or near this site, and of which it has certainly formed a part. No doubt it was originally inserted in the tympanum of the door in the Saxon church. When that structure was taken

down this stone was again used in the succeeding church as the capital of a large pillar supporting an arch—as proved by the moulding upon its edge. When that second church was demolished, early in the fifteenth century, this historical stone was inserted in the foundations of the late old church, without further defacement; and it there remained till 1866—a period of nearly four hundred and fifty years. Three other valuable finds combine to make a very pretty cross of at latest the Norman times, and which I have had sketched together. There are also four stones, which formed parts of the arches spanning the church existing in 1080; likewise a beautiful specimen of the alternate billet moulding, of a date forty years later. The cap of a double arch of the transition period from Norman to Early English (as indicated by the dog-tooth moulding), is amongst the relics of old Bolton Church. Besides this, three early gravestones were recovered (one bearing an incised cross and sword, one a raised sword, and the other the representation of a key). Then there is a handsomely-carved monumental stone, with full-length recumbent figure, its weather-beaten appearance suggesting its former exposure in the churchyard. A similar stone may be seen at Bunbury Church, Cheshire, which the Rev. T. W. Norwood described to the Society on its visit two years ago. The dress and wimples show it to be of the excellent work of Edward II.'s time.



I must now turn from these archæological curiosities to the literary records that have been so kindly placed at my disposal by Canon Powell.

The parish of Bolton was formerly in the diocese of Lichfield, being a prebend, which was annexed by Bishop Wescham, between 1245 and 1256, to the then archdeaconry of Chester. Probably on this account Bolton was not until recently credited with a church prior to the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1539, Archdeacon Knight let to Thurstan Tildesley the prebend of Bolton, together with the parish church and lands (the advowson of the vicarage excepted), for sixty years, paying £26 yearly as rent, £10 as vicar's salary, and to the vicars choral of Lichfield £5. 4s. 9d., besides keeping the chancel in repair. In 1542, Henry VIII. formed the see of Chester, and Bolton became part of the new see, and its vicar was appointed by the Bishop of Chester until the creation of the see of Manchester in 1847, when the right of nomination was transferred. Other leases of the impropriate rectory of Bolton were from time to time effected—the demises having passed through the hands of Messrs. Dutton and Morgill, James Anderton, Esq., of Lostock, Bishop Wilkins, Sir John Bridgeman, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, and several other of our local notables. It is to be regretted that the exact date of the erection of the recent church is yet unknown. Its style of architecture was the perpendicular Gothic, which had its rise about the year 1400, and continued to the time of the Reformation; but it was a poor example even of this, and had no claim to that magnificence which characterised the churches of that epoch.

The chancel stalls were newly made and carved before the middle of the fifteenth century, and it is very probable they were made for a new edifice. The two misereres of the "Eagle and Child," and the "Sprig of Acorn,"—crests of the Derby and Barton families—are of the same workmanship. The church consisted of a nave, north and south aisles, and a chancel. There were also spacious galleries. The *magna capella*, or large chancel, was ascended by three steps from the nave, bounded by the Chetham and Bradford Chapels on the north and south respectively. A smaller chancel, in which the Communion table was placed, was

reached through the *magna capella.* The pews in the body of the church were of all sorts and sizes, lengths, breadths, heights, and depths. Many of them were the old oaken benches simply "boxed in," others had been "made to order," so as to fit closely in between their neighbours. The roof of the nave was flat, but handsome. It was formed of massive oaken beams, almost blackened by age, ribbed, panelled, and bossed. The bosses were rudely carved in various devices—some representing palm leaves. One had the Derby ensign cut upon it—the Legs of Man and an axe —probably referring to the execution of the Earl of Derby in 1651. Another had the figure of an ass—symbolical of Christ's entry into Jerusalem. Another, the initials "A.S." —the monogram of Alexander Smythe, the Vicar of Bolton from 1582 to 1593; and another had the date "1714" boldly carved upon it. These items clearly show that the church had undergone considerable repairs at the various periods indicated.

The *magna capella* was furnished with fourteen handsome stalls of massive oak, the finials of which were carved in character with the timbers of the roof. This chancel also contained the vault of the Bartons and Bellasyses of Smithills. Sir Rowland Bellasys was the last one buried there, in 1696. It is related that his funeral took place by torchlight, and that the whole interior of the chancel was lighted up with candles, forming a scene of such impressive grandeur that it was a theme of conversation in Bolton for more than a century afterwards.

Parish registers are always the most important documents of the church. The earliest volume of these records preserved here begins with the year 1587, but some time ago I discovered a complete year's transcripts dated 1573—or fourteen years earlier than those at Bolton; but where the intermediate records are is a matter for future discovery. The book commencing 1587 was found under the lecturer's pew some sixty years ago when the pipes for the church stove were being laid. How it got there is not known, but

it is supposed that it was thus secreted and saved from destruction during the sieges of Bolton in 1642-4. These registers contain much interesting material regarding interments of soldiers slain at these battles, but further notice must be here foregone.

The old vestry book dates from 1656 and literally teems with amusing and interesting entries, which at the same time show how the affairs of the parish were worked when there were fewer worshippers, and less money to keep the church in "decent order and repair." In 1659 it was resolved at a parishioners' meeting "Yt ye great bell which now is burst, shall be maid new this year, with all the speede may be." Mossing and slating the top of the steeple was done in 1666, and a new bell purchased and the old ones repaired. In 1667 a tax was laid for "whitlyminge and beautifieinge the church." A year later the little bell was recast, though it was evidently not efficiently done, as the founder was called to account and ordered to make good the same according to his bond. The south porch was a charming specimen of architecture. A lintel over the doorway shows it to have been restored by William Lightbown in 1694.

Gravestones of interest are in abundance in the churchyard, but two only will be selected from their number for special mention. The oldest is one on the south-east side of the church and is dated 1597, which figures have been cut deeper by some busy body since the old church was taken down. It is generally called the "Let-me-lie-where-I-fall stone," so named from the tradition that it covers the place where one of the workmen repairing the roof at that date fell and was killed. The most elaborate inscription in the churchyard is that upon the tombstone of Puritan John Okey. It is a lucid historical record of the remarkable times in which he lived, and will be read with interest. It lies near the Grammar School wall and is quite decipherable. "John Okey the servant of God was borne in London 1608 Came into this Towne 1629 Maried Mary the daughter of

james Crompton of Breightmet 1635 with whom he lived comfortably 20 yeares & begot 4 sonns & 6 daughters since then he lived sole till the day of his death In his time were many Great Changes & terrible alterations 18 yeares civill wars in England besides many dreadfull sea fights The Crown or Command of England changed 8 times episcopacy laid aside 14 yeares London burnt by papists & more stately built againe Germany wasted 300 miles 200000 protestants murdered in Ireland by the papists This towne thrice stormed once taken & plundered He went throw many troubles & divers conditions Found rest joy & happines only in holines the faith feare & loue of God in Jesus Christ He dyed the 29 of Ap & lieth here buried 1684 Come lord Iesus o come quickly

HOLINES IS MANS HAPPINES

Domine nos dirige. Omnia sal sapit."

Taking an external glance at the old church, which is now numbered with the things of the past, a writer in 1714 observed: "It is a very ancient and venerable structure, and one of the grey old churches of Lancashire, surrounded on its southern side by a vista of trees, and with cottages on the same side. There is the old yew tree spreading itself with new buds from its bole of many hundred years of age. The arrows of the Lancashire bowmen were made from the wood of the yew." In 1513 Sir E. Stanley raised bowmen at Bolton to fight at Flodden Field, and it was to these brave "Bolton lads" that the following inscription had reference:—

The bolt shot well, I ween,
From arablast of yew tree green,
(Many nobles prostrate lay)
At glorious Flodden Field.

Who can say but that some of the arrows that helped to win that great victory were made from the old yew tree in Bolton churchyard?

Many and hallowed were the memories that lingered around the sacred portals of our good old church. What lamentable scenes have taken place within its holy shadows.

Its sanctity outraged by the soldiery during the rebellion. Its vicar maltreated by the assailants, and his wife abused,—she was "stripped to her smocke, nay, she having two smockes on, they took one of them, and left her scarce old rags to cover her nakednesse." It was towards this venerable old pile that James, the seventh Earl of Derby, turned when upon the scaffold preparing for execution, and with upturned head and outstretched arms cried aloud, "I will look towards Thy sanctuary whilst I am here, and hope to live in Thy heavenly sanctuary for ever hereafter."*

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

The next visit was to the Grammar School, where the visitors were met by the Rev. J. E. Hewison, M.A., the Head Master, and his chief assistants (Messrs. Lloyd and Jones). Sketches had been distributed of the old school, founded 1641, erected 1657, and taken down 1880, of the old pedestal and sun dial, and of the old bookcase and library of books.

Mr. Gilbert J. French here read the following paper on the history of the school: It is interesting to find that more than three centuries ago there existed generous-minded benefactors who bestirred themselves in the cause of education in our old town of Bolton, or, as it was then called, Bolton-in-the-Moors. As early as 1524 a gift of a messuage and tenement of the yearly value of 33s. 4d. was made to maintain a schoolmaster to teach a grammar school in Bolton, for the better improvement and training of youths in the town and parish of Bolton in learning and other godly exercises and virtues, and from a recital in the Act, 28 Geo. III., c. 81, being shortly An Act for incorporating the Governors of the Free Grammar School of the town and parish of Bolton-in-the-Moors, in the County Palatine of Lancaster, of the foundation of Robert Lever, late of London, gentleman, deceased, and for enlarging the trusts and powers of the said Governors for the benefit of the said school, it is stated that there was in

* The cuts on pp. 342-4 are contributed by Mr. Scholes.

and before the year 1644 a certain old school in the said parish of Bolton with certain revenues and property belonging thereunto, which said old school, together with such revenues and property, hath, ever since the year 1656, been united to the said new school, and the revenues and property thereof, and the said schools have from time to time been considered in every respect as one and the same school; and moreover, by indentures of lease and release, dated respectively the 22nd and 25th days of February, 1658, in the said Act recited, we find described and conveyed, amongst other property, all those two dwelling-houses called The Old School House, and formerly used as a school, situate in Churchgate, near the Church Gates, in Bolton, aforesaid then in possession of John Whittle and his assigns. Thus we have conclusive evidence, not only of the existence, but of the very site and locality of the earliest Bolton Grammar School in Churchgate, near the Church Gates. No adequate provision seems to have been made for this early little school, which, held in two dwelling-houses, most likely cottages, must have struggled on, supported by the Church and the chance contributions of the neighbouring gentry, who, in the troublesome times of the seventeenth century, would gladly avail themselves of its assistance in the education of their families. Indeed, it is said, though it is only a tradition, that James, the seventh Earl of Derby received his early education in Bolton before he proceeded to London and the continent, and he very likely laid the foundation of that excellent scholarship and great literary ability which he afterwards displayed, at this humble Grammar School in Bolton. But a noble-minded and kindly-disposed benefactor had quietly determined to bestow of his abundance in the cause of education in Bolton, and by his will, in 1641, founded a new Grammar School and liberally endowed it. This was Robert Lever, then late of London, who had been a citizen and clothier there, but had returned to his native home in Lancashire. He belonged to that well-known family of Levers identified with the townships of Great,

Little, and Darcy Lever, and which in the last century owned considerable property in this neighbourhood. He recognised the great want of educational advantages in Bolton, and nobly resolved to devote his wealth for the intellectual good of coming generations. So he purchased lands in Harwood, and, to use his own words in his will, "such purchase was made and taken in my name and the names of my brothers, William Lever and John Lever, and their heyres for ever, against my heyres, they payinge and allowinge for the same unto my personal estate £350, or, in default thereof, shall sell the said lands for the best advantage." This £350, or the moneys raised by the sale of the said lands, and £250 more, which he willed should be taken out of his personal estate, he directed to be distributed by his executors for such pious uses as he should appoint in his lifetime, and for want of such appointment the same should be disposed by in such pious uses "as his executors should think fitt eyther for erecting and maintainynge of a Ffree School or chapel, or otherwise as to them should seem meet." Robert Lever died three years after (1644) without having altered his will or his mind about the pious uses, and soon after his brothers William and John died. Owing to their death and to legal difficulties no effect could be given to his will, and the matter lay for some thirteen years—perhaps just as well, for those were very troublesome days, and within that period Bolton was besieged three times, and stormed, and taken, and if the Grammar School had been then erected, it would, from its site and advantageous position in a military point of view, have been made a point of resistance by the besieged, and have suffered, if not been totally destroyed accordingly. But more peaceful days came, and legal difficulties of heirships and infancy vanished under their influence. The town settled down, mud walls and the sieges were things of the past, even the gloom attendant upon the execution of the noble Earl of Derby, which will never entirely be removed, became less intense, and Bolton returned to its peaceful

occupations and to thoughts of Robert Lever and a new Free Grammar School. So the surviving executors of his will—Robert Lever, of Manchester, James Lever and John Lever, all nephews of the worthy testator, and one of them, as we shall see from his subsequent gift of books, with his heart in the good work—met and consulted with the chief inhabitants of Bolton, discussing the matter most probably with Alexander Norris, Parson John Harper (the Vicar), John Okey, and others of well-known Bolton fame. And they and these "chieffe inhabitants" pitched upon a suitable spot of land then called "Ashton Yard Fielde," the site upon which you now stand, a most suitable place close to the parish church, near to the town and easy of approach, overlooking the then pleasant locality of the Haulgh, and watered by the once pellucid but now much-to-be-avoided Croal. And there these energetic executors requested the Vicar, John Harper, and Robert Lever, of Darcy Lever, to take upon themselves the burden, oversight, and care of the building and erection of the new school, which speedily uprose, a good, solid, plain, unostentatious building of good stone and good oak, suitable to its purpose, accommodating in its capacity, and not unpleasing to the eyes of those who regard with a great reverence the simple, substantial architecture of a past age. Feoffees were nominated and appointed, and all charitable bequests which assisted the foundation duly collected and conveyed, and the settlement of the new school ratified and confirmed by the Court of Chancery at Preston, on the 12th November, 1657. Within the school, on the south wall, was fixed a mural tablet of marble, testifying in Latin to the generous virtues of the noble donor, while below, in Greek and Hebrew, appropriate references and passages from the Scripture follow. Within the school yard the sundial was placed in the very site it now occupies, and its well-worn surface and battered edges testify to its popularity as an indicator of school hours. For many years back the dial plate on the top of the stone was missing, but quite recently it has been recovered and replaced.

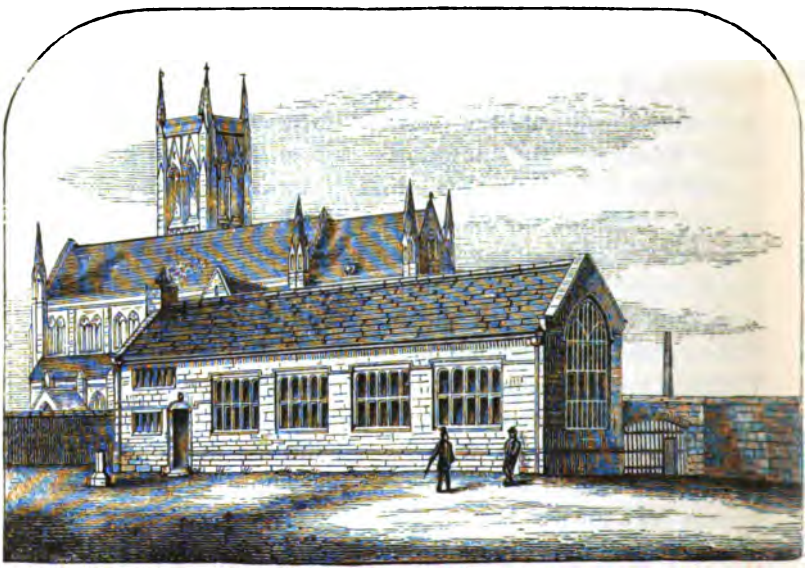
The date upon the plate is 1630, which does not correspond with the erection of the old building. Perhaps the plate may have been transferred from the old school, or more likely have been brought by Robert Lever, the founder, from London, and placed by his executors in the yard. It is a satisfaction to know that the sundial is once more complete, and it is to be hoped that it will remain so for many generations. The minutes of the proceedings of the governors of the school are most interesting, and preserve a chronological history of its career. They have been carefully noted, and are now secure in the custody of Mr. James Watkins, the present solicitor to the governors. Time will not permit me to do more than specify one or two curious particulars culled from them. The amount paid to the head master seems very meagre when compared with our present standard of the value of money. Thus, in 1660, Mr. John Brown, scholemaster, in full of his halfe year's wages gets £6; but these salaries steadily increased. In 1790, the Rev. John Lempriere, B.A., was elected head master at a salary of £84 and a house in Churchgate (very likely the old school buildings). He did not stay long, as his prerogative in the matter of corporal punishment was much restricted, and he seems to have been unable to maintain discipline. It is interesting to note that in his days the hours of teaching were from seven a.m. to twelve in the forenoon, and from two to five in the afternoon in summer, and from two to half-past four in the winter. It is not necessary nor suitable here to advert further to the work and management of the school. Those who are interested in the matter can find a full list of the trustees and head masters in the minute book referred to, or more easily in the *Historical Gleanings of Bolton and District*, where full particulars have been collated by Mr. J. K. Waite, the librarian of this town. Here also are presented the names of all the old boys who have attended the school—among them rank many Bolton worthies, men of more than local fame, many departed, some still remaining, and among these latter, and we hope

long to be so classed, is one of our Society's members, Mr. Thos. Holden, the chairman of our local committee. Before departing from the theme of the old school I must draw your attention, as part of its constitution, to its library of old books, and to the oak chest containing the same. I told you that Mr. James Lever, the nephew of the testator, who was, like his uncle, a citizen of London, had his heart in the work of building and completing the new school, and he determined to add to its scholastic equipment by presenting it with a suitable library. In so doing he followed the example of good men of his day, and notably that of Humphrey Chetham, who, by his will in 1651, gave libraries of books to the parish churches of Manchester and Bolton-in-the-Moors, and to the chapels of Turton, Walmsley, and Gorton, a wise and beneficial donation, the principle of which, it is pleasant to note, has been this year illustrated by the presentation to our town by Mr. John Heywood, of The Pike, of a suitable site for the erection and formation of a local branch library, and which we hope to see completed and furnished as a suitable commemoration of the Queen Victoria Jubilee. So James Lever in his day presented a library to the Grammar School, and, with the books, an oak chest or rather cupboard, which forms an admirable bookcase.* After describing this bookcase, Mr. French went on to say, James Lever placed and chained there a large number of works, and others were subsequently added by Dr. Morall, who was vicar of Bolton and a trustee of the Grammar School in 1721. Thomas Boardman, son of Thomas Boardman, one of the original trustees, also gave various books. The Boardman family seemed to have taken great interest in the school, for in 1686 they settled property in Little Lever, to erect, purchase, and maintain a library at the school, but from subsequent entries in the minutes it does not appear that any books were purchased, and it must be concluded that the provision thus made has been utilised

* An engraving of this bookcase will be found in Chancellor Christie's *Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire.*

in the general expenditure of the school. Amongst other of the books in existence are fifty-six volumes which there is no reason to doubt form part of the library of one hundred and eight volumes given by Humphrey Chetham to the Bolton Parish Church. This library disappeared from the church at the beginning of this century, and the oak chest in which the books were placed has not yet been traced, though it was a question whether the portion of the book-case now in the Chetham Library and inscribed "Presented to Chetham Hospital by William Hulton, Esq., one of the feofees, April 16, 1837," is not the remains of the identical chest which once stood in the Parish Church. Mr. French regretted to say that the Grammar School Library was in a most unsatisfactory condition. He sincerely hoped they would not only trace the missing books, but that all the present books in the Grammar School and Parish Church Libraries would be placed in a proper condition, and that steps would be taken to ensure their safe preservation for centuries to come. All the books in the Grammar School Library and those belonging to the Bolton Parish Church Library were specified, and the most interesting of them noted. Special attention was drawn to the Latin dictionary of Robert Ainsworth, who "was educated at Bolton, and afterwards taught school there;" but whose name does not appear as a master in the Grammar School records. Mr. French next drew attention to the new premises. In 1880 the old grammar school was taken down and this new one erected. No description of it is necessary beyond this, that in its construction every attention has been paid to the retention of all mementos of the old school. Thus the corner stone of the old building is incorporated with this. The pillars of the balustrade in the staircase are made of oak from the old school. Portions of the wainscoting round the principal room are formed from the old oak desks, and are particularly interesting by being literally covered with the incised names and initials of well-known old boys, whose backs have perhaps suffered for these ambitious attempts to

hand themselves down to posterity. As will be seen from the mural tablet, the school has been liberally supported by John Popplewell, Esq., and his sisters Ann and Rebecca Popplewell, who, altogether, gave £3,500 in the three-per-cent reduced annuities for the foundation of scholarships, and numerous prizes have been bestowed by John Horrocks Ainsworth, Esq., and others. Under the new scheme for the administration of the foundation, which was adopted in



BOLTON GRAMMAR SCHOOL.

June, 1882, there are three Popplewell exhibitions of £60 per anuum each for four years tenable at Oxford or Cambridge, and foundation scholarships, according to the number of boys, are held in the form of total or partial remission of fees. In addition to the school library of old books there is in the board-room a good little library of modern books for the use of the boys. The new school is admirably fitted up with all modern appliances, notable amongst which is the master's desk, and is calculated to do a good and

useful work in the town, and to worthily perpetuate the memory of its founder, Robert Lever, Esq. The present head master is the Rev. J. E. Hewison, M.A., late scholar of St. John's College, Cambridge, to whom Mr. French tendered his thanks and acknowledgments for the information and assistance he had given him in the preparation of the paper.*

On the way from the Grammar School to the Free Library a short stoppage was made for the inspection of the statue of Samuel Crompton, the inventor of the cotton spinning mule, erected in 1862 by public subscription from the designs of W. Calder Marshall, R.A. The Library was reached immediately afterwards, and here Alderman Fielding (chairman of the Library Committee) and Mr. William Smith, J.P. (hon. secretary to the Subscription Library), were in waiting. An adjournment was at once made to the Reference Library, where a paper was read by Mr. J. K. Waite, the librarian, in which he gave a short history and description of the Bolton Public Library, established in 1853 with twelve thousand two hundred and thirty-nine volumes and now containing fifty-six thousand volumes.

The round of visits to the public institutions being completed, the company adjourned to the Mayor's Banqueting Room in the Town Hall, where they were hospitably entertained by the Local Committee.

An informal conversazione was subsequently held in the Albert Hall, where a large collection of curiosities was on exhibition, and selections of music were played on the organ by Mr. Mullineux. The objects on view included the "Bowyer Bible," in forty-five volumes, the property of Mr. John Heywood, of The Pike; a series of early Bolton-printed and other books, which, with a coin of the time of Richard III., found under one of the gravestones in the parish church-

* The engraving of the school has been kindly supplied by the proprietors of the *Bolton Chronicle.*

yard, were exhibited by Mr. Scholes. Mr. Thomas Holden displayed, amongst other rarities, a manuscript book of the fourteenth century by Peter Comester. Mr. Shadrach Jackson had on view a valuable collection of coins; and other exhibitors showed the tankard from which the Earl of Derby drank shortly before his execution; a number of pictures, including an old view of the town (belonging to the Rev. R. Loxham); interior view of the old parish church, a portrait of Parson Foulds, and the weapons recently discovered at Westhoughton. These last were a miserecord dagger of the sixteenth century, an ordinary file, which appeared to have been sharpened for use as a dagger, and another file mounted with a pike head and sharpened. Probably all were remnants of the civil war. Mr. Esdaile brought a series of rubbings of brasses in various parts of the country. The collection was admirably laid out, and the various antiquities were explained to the visitors by the Local Committee.

During the evening, Mr. Holden read a paper on the "Bowyer" Bible, of which the following is a summary: The family of the Bowyers were very distinguished as printers during a considerable part of last century. William Bowyer was appointed printer to the House of Commons in 1729 (he was then thirty years of age), and in appreciation of his services he was appointed to a similar post to the House of Lords in 1763. He died in 1777. At the commencement of the present century, Robert Bowyer (in what degree related to the great printer is not known) was established in London as a successful printer and publisher of illustrated books. Macklin had published the most sumptuous edition of the Bible ever issued from the press; it was in seven folio volumes, and illustrated with engravings after De Loutherbourg and other eminent artists of the day. Bowyer had himself been an artist in his early life, and being possessed of a copy of Macklin's Bible, he devoted upwards of twenty years to the acquisition of ancient and modern engravings, etchings, and original drawings from every part of Europe for the further embellishment of the text. When

completed the Bible had expanded into forty-five volumes, and contained above six thousand illustrations, at a cost of over £3,000. After his death, in 1834, the Bible was disposed of by lottery, and is said to have realised four thousand guineas. Subsequently the books found their way into the hands of the late Mr. John Albinson, a native of Bolton. He was known to possess antiquarian tastes and to be a lover of books, to which was afterwards added a passion for engravings, paintings by the old masters, and works of art generally, being, in fact, known as a Bibliomaniac and book hunter. For these purposes he employed the services of well-known persons in Bolton, Manchester, and other parts of the county, and acquired twenty thousand volumes, mainly of high class literature. It is not known what he paid for the Bowyer Bible, but when the collection was sold after his death it was stated in the catalogue that the Bible was valued at three thousand one hundred guineas; and it was at the time conjectured that he had given that sum for it. Mr. Albinson died in August, 1854, in the eightieth year of his age, and his collection of books was disposed of by auction in Bolton in March, 1856. The sale extended over nine days, and attracted the attendance of the most noted booksellers from all parts of the country. The first bid for the Bible was £400, and it was eventually sold to Robert Heywood, Esq., of Bolton, for £550. Speaking of the late Mr. Heywood as an intimate acquaintance for forty years of his life, Mr. Holden highly eulogised that gentleman's many excellent qualities, and concluded by stating that the volumes were now possessed by John Heywood, Esq., of The Pike, who generously entrusted them to him in order that they might become acquainted with this great literary and artistic treasure. Mr. Heywood was following in the steps of his father, and his last gracious act had been to give a site on his estate for a new branch public library in that district.

Mr. John Eglington Bailey, in a short address, said Mr. John Owen, of Stockport, who was an honorary member of

the Society, was a Bolton man. He had collected a mass of interesting matter, and his name ought not to be forgotten in the annals of Bolton. Mr. Bailey produced two letters written by Robert Ainsworth, a famous lexicographer, who was born near Eccles, 1661, and was the son of Robert Ainsworth, of Clifton. He was educated at Bolton, and ultimately became a schoolmaster in the town, and in 1698, when he left Bolton and went to London, he published one of the finest works on education that any one could possibly put his hands upon. Mr. Bailey also produced a book which he said was on sale in a bookseller's shop in Manchester, giving a list of the poor people who were relieved by rates during the winter of 1686 for the relief of the poor in Great and Little Bolton and in all the townships. He strongly urged that this book should be placed in the Bolton Public Library.

Mr. J. R. Barlow proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the Mayor, remarking that Alderman Fletcher's kindness had greatly tended to make the proceedings so exceedingly enjoyable. Though their store of antiquities was not great they had much to be proud of in Bolton, and it had afforded them great gratification to receive the Society and to show them their treasures.

Mr. W. E. A. Axon said that as a member of the council of the Society he had great pleasure in seconding the resolution. That was not his first acquaintance with Bolton, or with that magnificent hall. He remembered in the days of the late Mr. Alderman Greenhalgh, whose name would be received with respect by that and succeeding generations, coming to Bolton as his guest on more than one occasion. Mr. Greenhalgh was one of the founders of their Free Library, and it was a matter of great interest to find that day that the honourable traditions of encouragement to literature and education which flourished in his days had been retained and still flourished. It was always a pleasure for a Lancashire man to come to Bolton, which had so many associations that belonged to the best that

there was in the past history of Lancashire. In the past Bolton was interesting for its associations with both sides of that most memorable struggle in our English history—the great civil war; and it was interesting for its association with the name and fame of Samuel Crompton. Lancashire had produced many men who had gained wealth for her by their inventions, but she had never produced a brain more nimble and subtle, or a conscience more tender, or a heart more true than that of the man to whom there had been erected the statue they had just seen, and which of itself was worth a pilgrimage to see. That day would be a red-letter day to many of them. It was particularly pleasant to find that their municipal authorities were associating themselves with the intellectual life of the people.

The Mayor, having expressed his acknowledgments, remarked that with him the whole of the burgesses of the borough would be pleased with the visit of the Society, for if they were deficient in antiquities they had a history which if probed would be found to be as honourable as the history of any part of Lancashire. If that history could not be fully illustrated to the naked eye, they might make up their minds that they had visited a town that day the burgesses of which had warm hearts, and determination and muscle and bone enough to make a way in the world for themselves, and he had no doubt that these prevailing features had been prevalent in bygone days. He sincerely hoped this would not be the last visit of the Society to Bolton.

The Rev. E. F. Letts, having proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the Local Committee for entertaining them so handsomely and in such a thorough Lancashire manner, humorously asked the origin of the name Bolton, of the Bolton coat of arms and crest, and of the term Bolton trotting.

Mr. J. Holme Nicholson seconded the resolution, which was carried.

Mr. French acknowledged the vote, and said the visit of

the Society had been most gratifying to them all. It was too late to attempt any lengthy dissertation on the name of their good old town. The Domesday Book gave the earliest record of the town known to exist. From this they got the name Bodelton. There were many Boltons scattered about the north, but no correct signification appeared to have been handed down with the name of their borough. Possibly the researches of that Society would elucidate the mystery. He was sorry to have to observe that the least they said about the Bolton arms and crest would be the better, because they did not belong to Bolton.

Tuesday, November 2nd, 1886.

WINTER CONVERSAZIONE.

The winter conversazione was held at the Manchester Town Hall. Members and friends to the number of about two hundred and fifty assembled in the Mayor's Parlour, and were received by the Mayor of Manchester (Alderman P. Goldschmidt), who, in welcoming the guests, said it gave him great pleasure to see them that evening, though he could not pretend to have much knowledge of their Society notwithstanding the fact that he was one of their members. Considering how rich were the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire in objects of antiquarian interest—historical memorials of various kinds—and also how many distinguished antiquarians had been Lancashire or Cheshire men, it seemed strange that a society like that should not have been formed long ago. Certainly its growth had been very rapid, and he had learnt on good authority that the work done in the short interval of three years and a half had been of a useful and valuable character. In a country like this, where so many institutions and customs and laws derived their strength and vitality from far distant historical bases, the careful and methodical research into antiquities which such a society as that conducted, had

a peculiar value, for it served to link the present with the past and enabled us to trace the successive steps by which we had grown to our present condition of power and prosperity, "Slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent."

The company afterwards spent some time in examining the various objects laid out on the tables, and the chair was taken by Professor W. Boyd Dawkins, who introduced the lecturer of the evening.

The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., then delivered an address on the Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones of Lancashire. The lecture was illustrated by an extensive series of rubbings, arranged around the walls.*

A hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Browne for his lecture was passed on the proposition of Canon J. A. Atkinson, seconded by Mr. W. O. Roper.

The following is a list of the objects exhibited:—George C. Yates, F.S.A., Peruvian antiquities and bronze implements. D. F. Howorth, Cases of colonial coins. W. H. Heathcote, Coins and medals. J. Croston, F.S.A., Forty-five photographs of old halls in Lancashire and Cheshire. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., Photographs of Greek temples and sculptures from Girgenti, Sicily. William Ford Smith, Rare china. George Esdaile, Rubbings of Lancashire brasses, including Sir Piers Gerard, Winwick, fifteenth century; Sir Peter Legh (the priest knight), Winwick, sixteenth century; and rubbings of the whole of the Assheton brasses at Middleton. W. W. Faulder, A leather bottle and fine door lock of seventeenth century. W. Wiper, An election placard, by Wordsworth, 1818; The same amplified and issued as a pamphlet; *Latin Bible*, 1592, arms of King James on side; Daniel's *Delia*, 1592; Ovid's *Epistles*, by Turberville [1582]; Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, 1584; Torrent of Portingale,

* Mr. Browne's paper is in type, but the author has unfortunately been prevented from giving it some necessary revision in time for this volume. It is, therefore, held over for the present.

transcript from the unique MS. in the Chetham Library, by Sir Frederick Madden; Byrom's tract against the Bishop of Chester, 1726; Quaker certificate of marriage, 1694; Volume of tracts, with Henry Bradshawe's autograph; The Kendal Cordwainers' Book, 1641–1711, the original guild book, byelaws, lists of wardens and sealers; Etchings of the Lake District, by W. Green, the Manchester artist; Chetham's *Angler's Vade Mecum*, first edition; *Mythologica Ethica*, 1592; Wastel's *Microbiblion*, 1629. W. S. Churchill, Specimens of old Swedish money. W. O. Roper, Photographs, and scrap book of Lancashire illustrations. Canon Woodhouse, Sculptured stone from the cathedral.

Friday, November 5th, 1886.

A meeting was held at Chetham's Library, Mr. Robert Langton in the chair.

Mr. J. E. Tinkler, librarian of Chetham's Library, was elected an honorary member in recognition of his services to the Society.

Mr. Nathan Heywood read the following communication on the Saxon Crosses and other Sepulchral Monuments at Ilkley: The fashionable health resort of Ilkley has been recorded as a British station under the name of Olicana, in the Territory of the Brigantes. It was next occupied by the Romans, and under their rule its name appears as Alicana. A summer camp was established there by the Romans, and Roman remains are numerous. No records of a Saxon occupation have reached us, and we can only surmise that the Saxons resided in the neighbourhood by the few sepulchral monuments which have been found in the town. The most important are the remains of three Saxon crosses now preserved in the yard of the parish church. No. 1 is about five feet in height, and is not so well preserved as Nos. 2 and 3; it bears on the front two men facing each other; then two animals; then two others, and two birds;

the sides are ornamented with scroll work; the back is, unfortunately, mutilated. No. 2 is about eight feet in height, it bears on the front the symbols of the evangelists, in oblong compartments, human figures in flowing robes, each with the head of the animal which is his symbol, surrounded by a glory, and holding the book of his gospel: St. John, the uppermost, has the head of an eagle; St. Luke, the next, that of a bull; St. Mark, that of a lion; and St. Matthew, a human figure. The sides have scroll work, with representations of fruit and leaves, and at the back is a figure of the Saviour; then a device composed of two animals; and two other monstrous figures. No. 3 is about four feet in height, it has on the front a scroll, and the figure of an ecclesiastic in robes, holding a book; the sides and back are mutilated. In 1867, whilst workmen were digging foundations for the Congregational Church in Green Lane, a sepulchral slab was found, measuring five feet eight inches in height, by about three feet four inches in breadth. The upper half is carved in relief; three figures, two adults and a child; the lower half is blank, and probably intended for an inscription. This stone is in the possession of the lord of the manor at Middleton Lodge. The year following, a fragment of another Saxon cross, about twenty-four inches in length, was dug up from under the foundations of some old cottages nearly opposite the parish church. It has a human figure, with hands raised in the act of prayer, on the front. The sides are ornamented with scroll work. Scanty as are these remaining fragments, they are sufficient, in my opinion, to lead us to conclude that this popular rendezvous had a Saxon occupation, but to what extent the Saxons appreciated the wonders of hydropathy must remain an obscure question until further evidence is forthcoming.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin read the following note, illustrated with drawings and diagrams, on Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains at Chester. In June last, whilst workmen were engaged in making a sewer beneath the street called Black Friars in Chester, to connect with the inter-

cepting sewer on the Roodeye, they came upon the remains of a Roman hypocaust in the centre of the street and opposite to the house occupied by Mrs. Blackburne. It was at a depth of thirteen feet from the surface, and the drawings exhibited show approximately its plan and position, for owing to the trench cut by the workmen being only two and a half feet wide, part of the exploration had to be effected by probing, and the width was not ascertained. It would appear to be simply one room of a villa, its length externally being twenty-six feet, and internally nineteen feet six inches, the walls varying from two feet nine inches to three feet in thickness. Like many similar rooms, it terminated in an apse or semicircle, which was at its western end, the exterior of the wall of which was sixty-eight feet distant from the outside of the city walls. Twelve of the pillars of the hypocaust were found in position supporting a floor of concrete from six to seven inches thick, in the semicircular part of the room, and five feet three inches only in length. This I should opine has originally borne a tesselated pavement. The remaining pillars were all more or less destroyed, though sufficient was left to show their previous existence. About fifty-six were believed to have existed in the portion of the building investigated. These pillars rested on a concrete floor, and were formed of tiles, the lowest of which was sixteen inches in length by ten and a half inches wide and two inches thick, then followed seven other tiles, one upon another, each eight inches square, which formed the shaft of the pillar; then came the cap formed of two tiles, the lowest being one foot square and one and a half inch thick, the upper one seventeen inches square and two inches thick, and on these were large tiles two feet square which reached from pillar to pillar and supported the concrete roof. Near the walls stone slabs were used instead of tiles, but they were of exactly the same dimensions as the latter. Remains of flue tiles were found, but not *in situ*. The soil above the concrete roof was entirely "made ground." In it were numerous bones,

some coins, one of Constantine, and a fragment of an inscribed Roman tile. The bottom floor of the hypocaust was found to be twenty-one feet above the level of the Roodeye, and in cutting through the city walls at the end of the street no Roman work was met with, the masonry being very poor and rotten. The conclusion seems to be, as stated in *Roman Cheshire*, pp. 92 and 320, that the slope of the hill from the wall of the *castrum* on its summit to the verge of the estuary, now the Roodeye, was occupied by villas, to one of which the hypocaust found belonged.

Mr. T. Oxley exhibited and described a valuable collection of Esquimaux stone and bone implements.

Mr. George C. Yates exhibited a collection of Esqiumaux curiosities, consisting of stone and bone arrow-heads, harpoons, rude dagger of bone and iron, and bone snow scraper.

Mr. Oxley read the following note on these exhibits: The Esquimaux are without doubt rapidly passing away as a race, and in another century their extinction as a people will, judging from their decreasing rate, take place. The study of their manners and customs, and more especially of the art displayed in their implements of every day life, is on this account of great interest. The food of these inhabitants of a desolate country is obtained entirely by hunting and fishing, yet after centuries of experience their weapons and implements of the chase are rude and inefficient, yet at the same time they show in a marked manner excellence of construction and frequently decorative art, the latter taking the form of imitation and delineation of familiar objects around them, and this of a character totally different from anything known at the present time among partially civilised races. The ordinary equipment of the Esquimaux hunter is the bow and arrow, harpoon and lance, and a blunt knife or dagger of varying forms used for two purposes, viz., as a weapon of offence and as a flaying knife and scraper; the sling is now little used, but its use has long been known to them, and in *figs.* 1 and 2 are shown two specimens of

sling handles of very perfect construction. Having no wood of any sufficient size and being unacquainted with metals, the Esquimaux are dependent for almost every implement they possess upon the bones and hard parts of animals, and upon stone. The latter they use or have used very much in the same way as other peoples during their prehistoric period, for the manufacture of knives, scrapers, hammers, and other implements. The walrus or morse is the chief source of supply for the material for their implements, and there is hardly any portion of its body that is not made use of. The reindeer and seal in like manner contribute. In studying the form and construction of their implements, a great similarity will be observed to primitive weapons of other nations. This is very noticeable in the dagger or knife (*fig.* 5). It will be observed that the blade, which is of hard, black, slatey stone, bears a very striking resemblance to the dagger blades of bronze so frequently found in the graves of the ancient inhabitants of this country during the bronze age. This knife is from an early Esquimaux burial place, probably at least two centuries old. The blade is about a quarter of an inch in thickness where it is attached to the handle or hilt, and is pierced with two holes for the retaining cord; the handle is rather more than twice as thick, and is halved down to admit the blade. It is pierced with another hole a little higher up the blade, and joining these three holes is a deep groove cut in the ivory; this is for the fastening cord to lie in, and this cord was made of twisted sinew or tendon, but it has perished since it was brought from the Arctic regions. *Fig.* 6 is another of these blades, but which has from repeated sharpenings become all but unusable; it has since been worn as a relic or memento to keep green the memory of some departed mighty slayer of walruses and seals. *Fig.* 3 is another very interesting specimen of a flaying knife and dagger, exhibited by Mr. Yates. The handle is of drift wood, and attached to it is a stock of ivory, about eight inches long, into the end of which a precious piece of hoop-iron has

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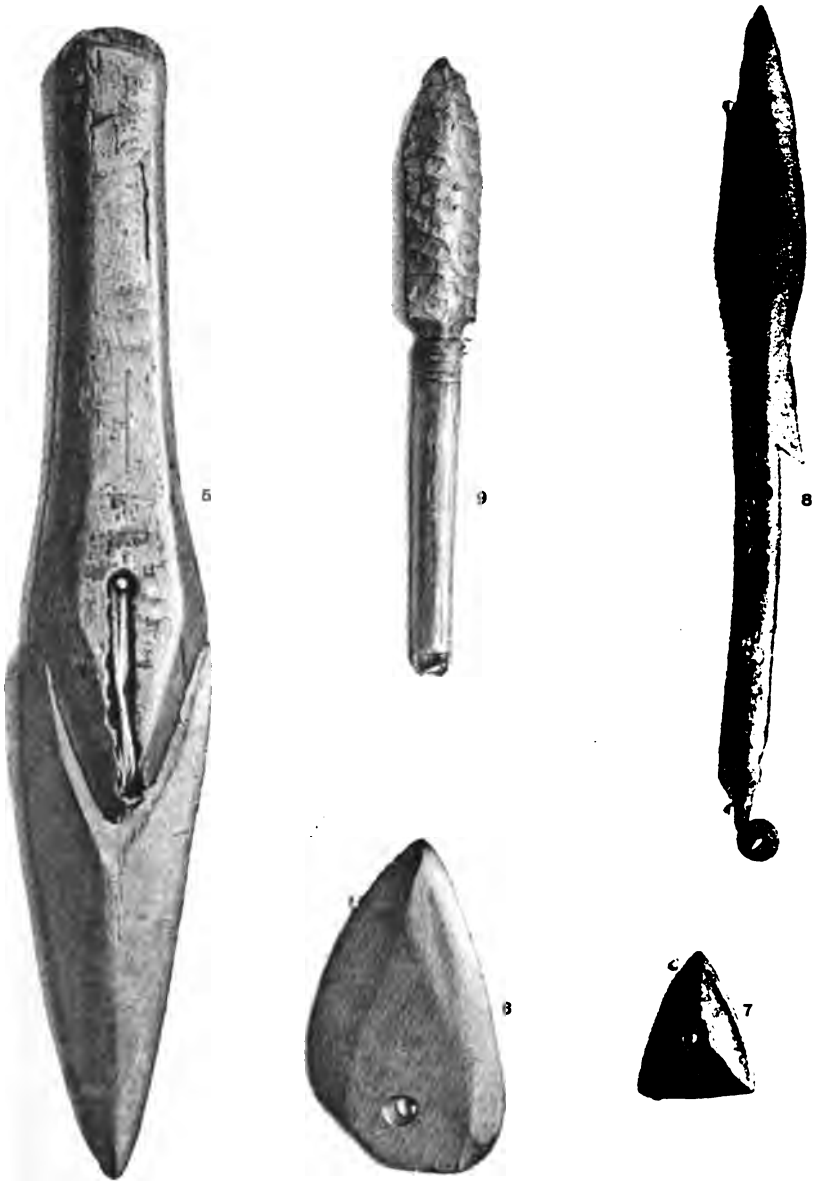
ESQUIMAUX IMPLEMENTS.



ANCIENT ESQUIMAUX IMPLEMENTS.

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been let in and secured with two rivets. I am of opinion that originally the ivory was at least double the length, and formed the blade, and that when the piece of iron had been acquired, the ivory was reduced in length and the iron point inserted. *Fig.* 4 is a third variety of these weapons, the blade formed from the tusk of a large walrus, by being sawn down the middle, is also attached to the haft of drift wood by a cord of tendon or sinew drawn through holes in a like manner to *fig.* 5. This specimen is of considerable antiquity, and of a form now rarely used. The sling handles, *fig.* 1 and 2 previously referred to, illustrate the faculty of imitation possessed by these people. They both are fair representations of the common seal, that is to say, as fair as could be formed from a piece of ivory, the original purpose of which was to be the handle of a sling. The hind flippers are ingeniously arranged so as to give a groove or slot for the loose cord to lie in. *Fig.* 8 is a harpoon head of great age, from a grave, and of a type now rarely, if ever, used. *Fig.* 7 is a stone point from a harpoon head, and, like *fig.* 6, has become a relic of past glories. It is of a hard black slate, and is polished to a fine surface. *Fig.* 9 is a fine example of the stone arrow head—the type is nearer to the American than the European forms, and it is still more interesting from the fact that it has a portion of the shaft still attached to it by the original fastening of fine sinew. This was also exhibited by the Honorary Secretary, and belonged along with No. 3 to the late Captain Scoresby.

The Rev. E. F. Letts read a paper on the Misereres of the Manchester Cathedral (see p. 130).

A conversation followed, in which the Rev. E. Odgers, Messrs. G. French, H. H. Sales, J. A. Eastwood, S. Jackson, W. Norbury, G. Esdaile, R. Peel, W. Horsfall, A. Nicholson, N. Heywood, W. D. Warburton, J. Bannister, and the Chairman took part.

New members elected: Edgar Attkins, William Brimelow, Miss Jackson.

Saturday, November 20th, 1886.

AUSTRALIAN STONE IMPLEMENTS.

A special meeting of the Society was held in the library of Owens College, when a large collection of Australian implements was exhibited.

After some time had been spent in an examination of the objects, which were laid out upon the tables, Professor W. Boyd Dawkins took the chair and delivered the following address: Ladies and gentlemen, we are here this afternoon to see an exhibition of Australian implements relating to the history of a quarter of the world, though inhabited by types of animals which formerly lived in the old world, but which have become extinct everywhere except in Australia. The collection which you see upon these tables represents the civilisation of a section of mankind which lies at, if I may so term it, the very base of humanity. The aborigines of Australia are a people cut off from the greater portion of the other peoples of the world by certain remarkable physical characteristics. I will not trouble you with any details regarding the straightness of their hair or the long shape of their skulls, or their physique. I will content myself by pointing out that the main characteristic of the Australian race—the aboriginal race—the evidence as to whose civilisation you have before you, consists in the fact that they have smaller and lighter brains, of a far lower type, and lower organisation, than the brains of the great majority of the races of mankind. We all know that the more the brain is exercised the larger it gets; and we know also that, in the highly civilised nations of Europe, there are very considerable variations in the size of brains; so that the people who do not use their brains very much, in a long course of generations suffer a kind of brain-atrophy, and the brains which may have originally started say of a fair average size gradually dwindle down to a low and symmetrical type. But,

with regard to the Australian race, there is a certain definite average of small weight of brain which is characteristic of the Australian brain; and if I were to cast about for any other kind of brain in any other part of the world to compare with it, I should have to go right across the Indian Ocean, to the region of South Africa. The bushman's brain, in lowness of weight, and in simplicity of folds and in symmetry of parts, is the only one that comes at all near to the brain of the aborigines of Australia. I think, then, that when we are dealing with these implements, this fact is a fact worthy of the very greatest consideration; for, on the one hand, when we look at these stone implements, which belonged to a people who were altogether ignorant of the use of metals, and ignorant also of the knowledge of domestic animals, saving the dog—and when we see further that they possess this low type of brain—then I think really we see that civilisation and development of brain power go together. The greater the brain power, as a rule, the higher the civilisation; and, given a low brain, there you have a low condition of humanity. But, besides the mere question of size and weight, there is another point which is worthy of note. The structure of the brain is far simpler than that of the ordinary European. So far as one can make anything out from the study of brains, mental power depends very largely upon the amount of grey matter coating the surface which the brain possesses. Of course, the larger the brain, other things being equal, the larger will be its surface, but not wholly so, for the surface of the brain is, as we all know, so twisted and convoluted that a large amount of the grey layer is compressed within a comparatively small space. The intricacies of the educated European brain are almost comparable to the intricacies of our intellectual methods; and you can tell the brain of an educated man from that of an uneducated man by the complication of those folds and grooves on the surface. The Australians have a brain possessing a remarkable simplicity and a symmetry which is not found in educated races. You see, then, in the case of the

Australians, you have an example of a people possessing a simple form of brain, possessing a brain of low weight, and up to the time of their discovery, in one of the lowest stages of civilisation. Now I do not think it advisable this afternoon to detain you very long in making preliminary remarks on this matter; but it seems to me that the reason why the Australian race has survived is the same as that which explains the survival of those curious marsupial and other animals now peculiar to Australia. The Australians, being shut off from the great mass of mankind by the deep sea, which extends to the south of the Island of Java—the Straits of Macassar—during a vast period of time, having been protected from the competition of races who were abler and stronger than themselves, and with better brains than they have; just as the mammalia now living in Australia have been protected by the sea against the incursions of the old-world animals. We know, from our contact with the Australian natives—we, old-world folk, who are the inheritors of the result of the struggle for life in this great tract of land, comprising Africa, Europe, and Asia—know that the Australians are rapidly disappearing before us. We have passed over the seas, we have overcome the natural barriers, and are rapidly exterminating the Australian tribes; and not only so, but our old-world belongings, our plants and animals, are making inroads in a most wonderful manner on the native dwellers, both plant and animal, in those regions. The English clover is competing with the gum tree, and the English rabbit is starving out the kangaroo rats, and so on. These facts illustrate how true and widespread is the doctrine of the survival of the fittest. It is, therefore, with very great interest I see such a collection as this; and I would say that upon these tables there is a better collection of stone implements from Australia than any collection which I have had the opportunity of seeing even in Australia itself. It very frequently happens that in this country, to which almost everything in this world gravitates, you can get better collections relating to foreign

countries than you can in those countries themselves. This certainly illustrates that fact; and I heartily welcome the enterprise of my friend Mr. Yates and the others who have contributed to the making of this collection. But allow me to say, before I sit down, that the Australian savage is not a man altogether incapable of new ideas. The English who settled on the west coast carried with them what Englishmen take everywhere. Wherever you go, whether on the top of Snowdon or on the top of the Alps, you find evidence of it in fragments of broken glass bottles. The native Australian has found out that these bottles are exceedingly useful to him in making his implements; and on these tables you will see examples of knives which have been made out of splinters of green bottle-glass. It is a curious illustration of the proverb inverted, that "what is one man's poison is another man's meat." It shows at all events if the English settler is able to use up the contents of the bottle, the Australian savage is able to utilise what is left of the bottle when it is smashed, for the barbing of his spears or the manufacture of his knives. I will now call upon the gentlemen who have so kindly co-operated in this exhibition; and first I will ask my friend Mr. Heape to make a few remarks upon the provincial distribution of these implements in Australia. Mr. Heape is a gentleman who has paid a very considerable amount of attention to this subject, and I am sure we shall learn a good deal from what he has to tell us.

Mr. Charles Heape said they had upon the tables a fairly representative collection of the leading weapons of Australia; and it would be interesting, he thought, to examine separately the hatchets, spears, boomerangs, and other articles exhibited, and trace the variations in form which were shown by specimens from the different districts of the Australian continent. It was impossible to draw lines of demarcation very accurately, because of the difficulty of ascertaining, within a few hundred miles, where many of these specimens were made; but roughly they could determine certain districts, and according to those districts so did the weapons

made in them vary. Referring to implements of stone, they had there three distinct types of hatchet: one had a round head, the other a square one, whilst there was a third which differed widely in its mode of manufacture, for the head, instead of consisting of one stone, was formed of two attached together by a large piece of gum into which the handle was thrust. Those three types roughly marked out the three areas of which he wished to speak, namely, (*a*) Western Australia; (*b*) the north-east district—that was to say, the northern part of the east coast line and the eastern part of the north coast line; and, lastly, (*c*) the southern part of the east coast line and the eastern part of the southern coast line. He wished to compare the variations of form of the weapons and implements in each of those districts. In the first place, then, the round-headed hatchet was unmistakably the type of Richmond River (north-east territory), whilst the long shape belonged to the south-east portion of Victoria and the southern part of New South Wales. The third was distinctly West Australian, and was not found in any other part of the continent. There was, it was true, one amongst Mr. Darbishire's collection sent to him from Queensland, but with regard to that he would only observe that such weapons, through barter and in other ways, travelled long distances from the places where they were made. The manufacture of them was undoubtedly in accordance with the districts he had named. Then, as to knives, he invited a comparison between the specimens from North and North-East Australia—knives with fair-sized handles, short in the blade, and beautifully edged, and the knives from Western Australia, of which there were several examples in the room. From Victoria he was afraid they had not any very good specimens. The form approached that of the north; the knife blade, however, was not quite so broad at the bottom, but a little longer. As to spears, there were exhibited a few stone-headed ones; these all came from North Australia. They were occasionally found in Victoria, but were not at all common; they were only common in the

north. The spears of Victoria were not so heavy, as a rule, as those of Northern Australia; and those of Western Australia were lighter still. The spears from the west were the lightest and those from the north the heaviest. The North Australian spears, again, were much more ornamented than those of Victoria; spears were seldom met with from North Australia which were not more or less covered with lines of decoration. Coming now to weapons of wood, he would refer first of all to the boomerang. They had not on the tables a full series of these implements, but the leading differences might easily be seen. The Victorian boomerang was the ordinary, common form, fairly heavy, and without any ornamentation. In the north these weapons were distinctly ornamented, and the decoration was of a very peculiar kind. Specimens of two patterns were exhibited, showing very clearly a type of boomerang which was made nowhere but in the north. By that he did not mean that it was impossible to find an ornamented boomerang in Victoria, but they were indigenous only to the northern part of the continent. In Western Australia they found a very much lighter, thinner, and finer boomerang. All the West Australian weapons were, as a rule, better made and finer than those of Victoria. An implement which did not entirely agree with the geographical distribution mentioned, though it did to a certain extent, was the return boomerang. In the north, many tribes had no knowledge of it. They only used the boomerang in war; and in warfare it is not thrown to return. The return boomerang is, as a rule, only made use of in hunting and for amusement. The shields and throw sticks exhibited also showed most distinct peculiarities in accordance with the districts named. Thus, whether stone weapons or weapons of wood be taken, it is seen that the lines of demarcation indicated at the commencement are strictly marked. One word as to the art of the Australian natives. The boomerangs showed some slight ornamentation, and many of the shields were covered with it. In most cases that ornamentation consisted of zigzags and

straight lines. Only in one instance, and that was from the north, was there any appearance of scroll work. The pattern in this case, in all probability, had come over from New Guinea, where scroll work was executed as beautifully as anywhere in the Pacific, except amongst the Maoris of New Zealand. Amongst the other examples of Australian art was an object which appeared to be of the nature of a message stick, though it was difficult to say with certainty. In conclusion, it seemed to him that, with more accurate information than we now possessed, it would be possible to follow the geographical distribution of differences of form and ornament to a much greater nicety than he had done. At the present moment, however, until greater care was exercised by those coming in contact with the natives in their most primitive condition, he feared that it was impossible to carry it further than he had been able to indicate from the specimens before them.

Mr. R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A., who was next introduced by the Chairman, said the subject of the stone implements of Australia was not a very large one. The Australian savage had not made anything like the progress of which we were accustomed to find evidence in the stone implements found in this country, in Ireland, or, still more, in Northern Europe. They had there the very beginning of the use of stone—that was to say, the use of the material in its rudest form. Of course, the beginning of the use of stone was much older than in the Australian time. The implements that were found in the river gravels in the North of France and in the southern parts of our own country were of course of an age which could not be determined; but there were, in Australia, the beginnings of the use of stone as a material for tools; and the first instance of it all seemed to him to be when the savage picked up a piece of flat stone out of a river bed and tried to make use of it in the procuring of food or for other purposes. He gradually found that it was rather dull, and so he ground an edge upon it. They had upon the tables a very curious series of stones which came from Carandotta,

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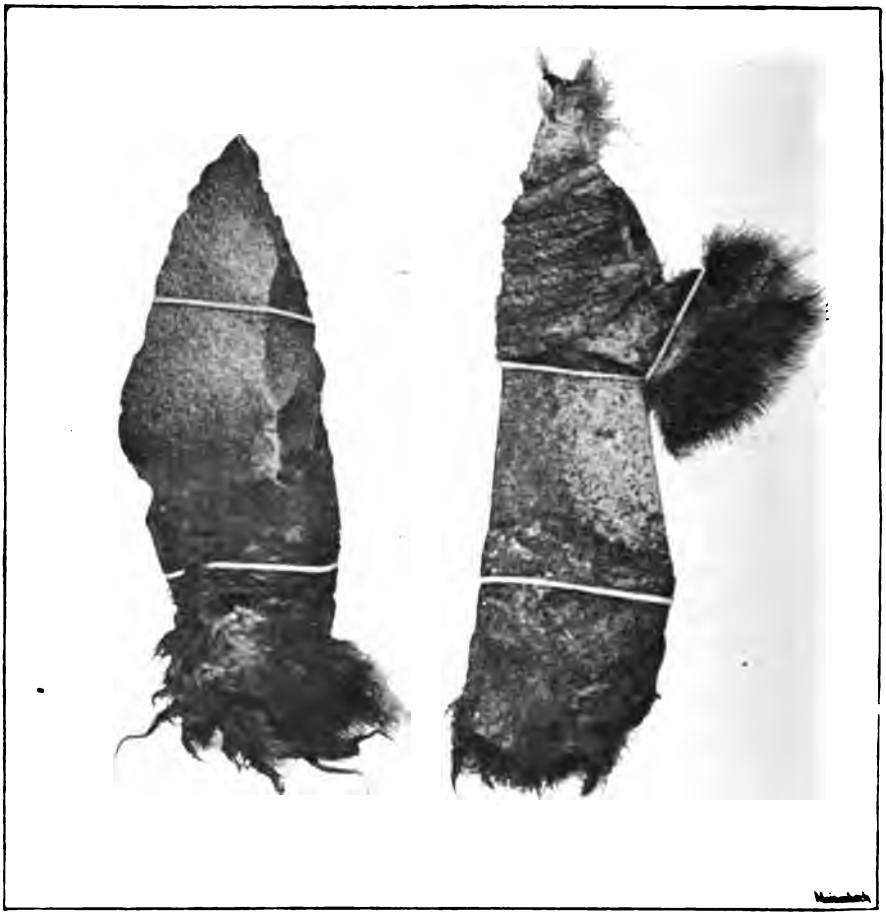
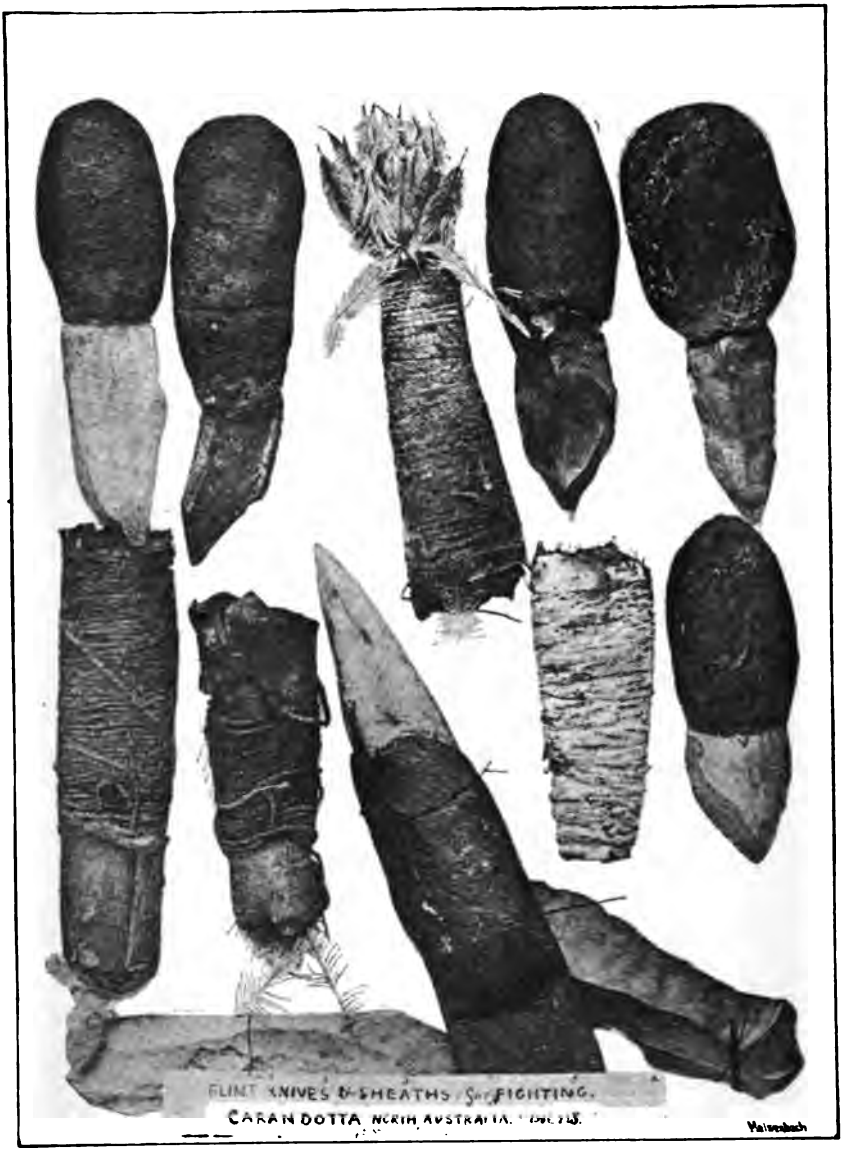


STONE KNIFE AND IRON KNIFE MOUNTED ALIKE.


FLINT KNIVES & SHEATHS for FIGHTING.
CARANDOTTA NORTH AUSTRALIA.
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a district of North Australia, about one hundred and thirty miles south of the Gulf of Carpentaria. They were all found by Mr. W. S. Donner in the bush. Mr. Donner stated that these stones were not found in the streams of Carandotta, but came from the westward, some three hundred miles, by barter. By degrees the stones were found to be awkward for handling, and the natives learned the art of chipping off portions to make an edge and then of grinding down to a sharp edge. Having thus begun to use the stone, and discovered its value as an implement, the native hafted it by twisting a withe round it, just as the modern blacksmith is accustomed to twist withes round his hammer heads; and finally, taking a piece of gum — no doubt the product of some species of eucalyptus — he melted it and completed the implement as they now saw it, the gum setting almost as hard as the stone itself. Having made his axe in that way, with a good haft and sharp edge, he set to work to finish it, and made it a very perfect weapon indeed. There was one in the collection with as beautiful an edge as any that could be seen in the most advanced neolithic stone implements. He did not know how it was that Australian axes were so rare: he supposed that people did not care about them when they were busy settling or sheep tenting, and they threw them away. He was exceedingly shocked to hear a friend, whom he had commissioned to collect such things for him, say that the English settlers took everything of the kind that they found and burnt them; so that the natives could not kill any game, that meant should not be able to live. Amongst other things to which Mr. Darbishire called attention were specimens of knives. Some of these, he said, were beautiful instruments made of flakes of jasper, having sharp points and cutting edges, and hafted in lumps of old hard gum. Some of the finest had been so valuable that they were protected with carefully made sheaths, and one or two had been adorned with cockatoos' feathers. The friend from whom he received these specimens informed him that the natives preferred steel axes

to stone implements, but that in fighting they preferred stone weapons to any other kind. In conclusion, Mr. Darbishire exhibited some specimens of Irish flakes, hafted by himself, in order to show how that same form of implement which was now used in Australia was made and may have been used in Ireland. He also called attention to examples of the use of iron, in the manufacture of implements by the native Australians, since the settlement of the country by Englishmen. One of these was formed of a broken piece of horseshoe fastened to a withe, this being made into a handle with gum and cord, and the end of the piece of iron being ground to a point. This, to the mind of the savage, made an exceedingly good and most advanced axe. Two specimens of this class were exhibited, besides other adaptations of pieces of iron as tomahawks or knives.

Mr. P. F. Kendall made some remarks upon the materials which were found to have been used by the Australians in the manufacture of their edge tools. In looking over a series of specimens like those, one observation, he said, must strike them with considerable force; that was, that however the materials might vary in composition, they were almost uniform in texture. That was to say, in the selection of material for the manufacture of stone implements, the savages had been mainly guided by the fineness of the grain of the material or the absence of grain altogether. Thus they found a very dense and closely-grained limestone was occasionally used, apparently, in the main, for weapons of war, axes, and so forth; then there were volcanic lavas or basalts, which were exceedingly fine grained, more especially when they had undergone some decomposition. The knives, almost without exception, were made of some variety of flint. Thus it would be seen that a comparatively soft rock answered well enough for such weapons as axes and hammers; but for knives it was necessary to have a material that would take a fine edge. All who had experimented with flints, either for the purpose of study or from necessity, would be familiar with the extreme sharpness of edge of

which they were susceptible. Some old flint weapons in his possession were as sharp as razors. All the knives exhibited by Mr. Darbishire were made of some kind of flint. Some of the ruder implements, however, including the two last to which Mr. Darbishire referred, were composed of a kind of sandstone, which, either by the action of some infiltrating substance, some material of a flinty nature, or by the action of heat, had been consolidated into a hard and tough rock. There were several rude implements exhibited by Mr. Yates, which might have been used as borers, made of a kind of rock, which was of very considerable interest. It was evidently a veined quartz, a form of silica, that was found in Australia, associated with gold, though in these particular specimens he could not detect any trace of that metal; but they were composed of exactly such materials as were found associated with gold in the great Australian reefs. Allusion had already been made to implements made of glass; and they might take these glass implements as a very good illustration of what could be done with a very hard material, somewhat brittle and of uniform texture. A knife in the collection, made of green bottle glass, had a very keen edge indeed.

Mr. G. C. Yates, in exhibiting a series of native quartz implements collected by the Rev. W. Howchin, F.G.S., of Adelaide, said that these quartz implements were picked up on the sites of ancient camping grounds and burial places of the aborigines around Adelaide associated with other kinds of stone implements. Quartz, mostly pointed, being found in considerable quantities in such situations. It was not geologically present, as the situations where it occurred were inland sand deserts, in which no stones were found except those brought to the spot by the hand of man. As to the use of the quartz in question, the awl-shaped had evidently been used for ornamenting wood implements such as boomerangs. Some were shaped rather like a hollow scraper as though for the purpose of levelling. Some friends of Mr. Howchin, who had come in contact with the tribes of

the interior who still use stone implements, assured him that they had seen the natives use pointed stones for such purposes.

Mr. Yates, in a short address, said: In the exploring expedition, under Mr. A. G. Gregory, in 1855-6, the party came on an open space between the cliffs, along one of the tributary streams of the Victoria River, where the ground was thickly strewn with fragments of various stones and imperfectly formed weapons. Mr. Baines, in the *Anthop. Rev.*, vol. iv. p. 104, thus describes the formation of the weapons: "The native, having chosen a pebble of agate, flint, or other suitable stone, perhaps as large as an ostrich egg, sits down before a larger block, on which he strikes it so as to detach from the end a piece, leaving a flattened base for his subsequent operations. Then, holding the pebble with its base downwards, he again strikes so as to split off a piece as thin and broad as possible, tapering upwards in an oval or leaf-like form, and sharp and thin at the edges. His next object is to strike off another piece nearly similar, so close as to leave a projecting handle on the stone, as sharp, straight, and perpendicular as possible. Then again, taking the pebble carefully in his hand, he aims the decisive blow, which, if he is successful, splits off another piece with the angle running straight up its centre as a midrib, and the two edges sharp, clear, and equal, spreading slightly from the base, and again narrowing till they meet the midrib in a keen and taper point. If he has done this well, he possesses a perfect weapon; but at least three chips must have been formed in making it, and it seems highly probable, from the number of imperfect heads that lay about, that the failures by far out numbered the successful results. In the making of tomahawks or axes, in which a dark green stone is generally used, great numbers of failures must ensue; and in these another operation seems necessary, for we saw upon the rocks several places where they had been ground, with a great expenditure of labour, to a smooth round edge." Mr. Yates then mentioned several modes of hafting these im-

plements, and in his remarks said: One of the methods in use among various savage tribes is that of winding a flexible branch of wood round the stone, and securing the two ends of the branch by binding them together in such a manner as tightly to embrace the blade. A stone axe from Northern Australia thus hafted is figured in vol. xxxiv., p. 172, of the *Archæologia*. This method of hafting has been mentioned by White in his *Journal of a Voyage to N.S. Wales*, p. 293, who describes the binding as being effected by strips of bark, and in his figure shows the two ends of the stick more firmly bound together. Another example has been figured by Rev. J. G. Wood in his *Natural History of Man*. This mode is very similar to that in common use among blacksmiths for their chisels and swages, which are held by means of withes twisted round them, and secured in their places by rings. It seems exceedingly probable that so simple a method may have been in use in early times in Great Britain, though we have no direct evidence of the fact. Another Australian method of mounting implies the possession of some resinous material susceptible of being softened by heat and again becoming hard and tough when cold. This mode is figured in the *Archæologia* and represents a rude instrument from Western Australia. It is hammer-like at one end, axe-like at the other, and is formed of either one or two roughly chipped pieces of basalt-like stone entirely unground, and secured in a mass of resinous gum, in which the handle is inserted. In most implements of this kind there appear to be two separate stones used to form the double blade, and these are sometimes of different kinds of rock. It would seem that the shaft, either cleft or uncleft, passed between them, and that the stones, when bound with string to hold them in their places, were further secured with a mass of the gum of the *Xanthorrhœa*, or grass tree. Such a method of hafting cannot have been in general use in Great Britain for want of the necessary cementing material, though from discoveries made in Scandinavia it would appear that a resinous pitch was in common use for fixing bronze implements to

their handles; so that the practice may also have applied to those of stone. In the Swiss-Lake dwellings bitumen was used as a cement for attaching stone to wood. Among modern savages we have instances of Celts being used in the hand without the intervention of any haft, though among the Australians the butt-end is sometimes enveloped in a mass of resinous matter so as to form a knob which fits the hand.

The Chairman said he felt that he ought not to ask the meeting to listen any longer to formal proceedings, for he felt quite sure they would desire to inspect the objects which had been so ably described. Before they broke up, however, he would read out the names of those gentlemen who had been kind enough to contribute to that admirable collection. He felt that the Society was very much indebted to them, and he should, in their name, offer to them sincere thanks. The contributors were Mr. R. D. Darbishire, Mr. Kendall, Mr. Charles Heape, Miss ffarington, Mr. Moss, the Rev. W. J. Woods, Mr. Heathcote, the Leicester Museum, the Bolton Museum, Mr. John Evans, Mr. Franks, Mr. G. C. Yates, Mr. Archer, and last though not least they had an interesting contribution from the Bishop of Manchester. Having heard those names, he was sure they would understand that that collection really was one of no common interest. They had laid under contribution the best collections of those things existing in this country, and he was sure their thanks were due, and would be given, to those who had been so kind as to allow of their bringing so many objects of interest together.

The following is a list of the objects shown:—

Mr. R. D. Darbishire: *Stone Hand Axes and Scrapers:* Thirteen flat round stones out of a river bed, mostly chipped to an edge all round and ground sharp part way round. These were picked up in old deserted camps. The stones do not occur where they were found, but are obtained by the natives by barter from tribes three hundred miles away. They are used unmounted. In size these tools vary from

6 × 4·75 to 3·5 × 3·5; one or two of them have evidently been very much used, showing hand polishing. *Stone Knives:* Six very fine knives of simple pointed flakes, each hafted in a lump of gum. Four sheathed in bark or reed sheaths, wrapped with string, and ornamented at the end with feathers or fur. One very fine knife, in a carefully completed sheath, has a flat wooden spatula, 1·5 × 1·5, fastened in to the back of the gum handle. These knives are made from flint which abounds in the neighbourhood; they are preferred to iron for fighting purposes. Two large chipped flakes, 6 × 1·3. *Mounted Chisels:* Two bow-shaped pieces of branch, one to one and a half inch thick and twenty inches long with a flint flake carefully chipped to a sharp edge, mounted in a lump of gum at each end. These tools are in constant use for cutting and shaping wooden clubs, boomerangs, and all work of the kind, and are preferred by the natives to any steel tools. Mr. Sidney W. Donner collected these specimens himself in Carandotta, thirty miles west of Queensland, lat. 22°, and three hundred miles south of the Gulf of Carpentaria.

Mr. Francis Archer: *Stone Axeheads:* Coarsely chipped, pear-shaped, 5·5 × 3·5, edge slightly ground (Queensland, Moreton Bay). Coarsely chipped, cornered edge, 4·5 × 3, edge well ground and shaped on both sides. This has been fastened with cord and gum upon a haft (Queensland, Moreton Bay). Coarsely chipped, cornered edge, 4·75 × 2·5 (Victoria, Sandhurst). Coarsely chipped, small, 3 × 3, edge slightly ground (Queensland, Moreton Bay). Coarsely chipped, small, 3 × 3, edge well ground. A well-finished hand tool (New South Wales, Darling River). Three specimens of stone axes from district where the South Sea labourers are employed (Queensland). Polished axehead or celt from New Zealand, 4 × 2½, jade, white and green. *Stone Hammer Chisels:* Two stones in a lump of gum on a handle (Queensland, Moreton Bay). *Stone Spearhead:* Well chipped on both sides to edge and point, 8 × 1½, mounted with gum and cord on the staff. *Stone Knife and Iron Knife:* Card

with a rude quartzite knife, hafted with gum and wool, and one blade of a pair of shears hafted in the same way. (A very instructive illustration of the commencement of the iron age.)

Mr. A. W. Franks, F.S.A.: Tomahawk made of half a horseshoe of iron fastened by a lump of gum at the end of a stick—pick fashion.

Dr. John Evans: Stone axes, chipped and ground, with hafts and without them, and an iron axe, hafted.

Mr. George C. Yates: Stone axehead, sandstone. Spears, stone heads (Port Darwen). Rude quartz implements (Adelaide). Meero or Wummerah, with flint end (West Australia). Bone awls and needles. Wooden shield. Boomerang, ornamented. Wooden barbed spears. Fetish, human bone and hair. Native doctor's medicine bag, human hair. Shell charm worn by women between the breasts. Collection of native baskets, bags, fishing nets, &c. Elaborately carved reed.

Miss ffarington: Stone axe, mounted. Stone knife, mounted. Wooden shields. War boomerang.

Mr. Charles Heape: *Stone:* (*a*) Hatchet, mounted (Victoria). (*b*) Hatchet, mounted (Queensland). Two hatchets, mounted (Western Australia). Two hatchet heads, unmounted (Rockingham Bay). Large stone head of an adze (Locality doubtful, probably New Zealand or Australia). Knife made of stone chippings attached to a short stick by means of gum (Western Australia). Knife made of small pieces of broken glass in place of stone chippings (Western Australia). Spear with the head of stone (quartzite), and shaft of cane (North Australia). Three hatchets each made of a rough piece of iron—in one instance part of a horse shoe—attached to the handle in a similar way to the stone-headed hatchets (*a*) and (*b*). *Wood:* Shields for use against spears (Victoria). Shield ornamented in parallel longitudinal lines (Western Australia). Large oval shield made of light wood (Rockingham Bay). Long and heavy wooden sword (Rockingham Bay). Collection of wummerahs or throw sticks, containing specimens from Victoria, Western

Australia, North-west coast, Port Darwin, and Gulf of Carpentaria. Boomerang, for use in war, ornamented with zigzag lines (North Australia).

Mr. Montague Brown, Leicester Museum: Stone axehead (Murray River).

Mr. Arthur J. Moss: Bone merai (New Zealand). Stone merai (New Zealand). Nine stone axes (New Zealand).

Mr. Midgley, Bolton Museum: Series of stone axes (New Zealand).

The Bishop of Manchester: Boomerang. Lyre bird's tail. Opossum ring. Emu egg. Emu skin. Painting on gum leaves. Photographs. Stuffed birds and screens. Trowel made by an aboriginal. Small water stone—a little water moving at will, in the midst of a transparent stone or pebble.

The Rev. W. J. Woods and Mr. W. H. Heathcote also exhibited specimens.

Friday, December 3rd, 1886.

A meeting was held at Chetham's Library, Mr. W. E. A. Axon in the chair.

Mr. W. Thompson Watkin stated that a number of Roman coins had been discovered at Aston, between Runcorn and Frodsham. Ten of them which were sent to him ranged from the time of Augustus to that of Constantine II., a period of something like three hundred and fifty years. They were found separately and not in a hoard.

The Chairman brought under the notice of the members the fact that in the course of some excavations in Grecian Street, Lower Broughton, the remains of what was supposed to be an old road had been discovered, which had given rise to the belief that it was a road of Roman origin. He had visited the place, and had brought away several pieces of brick, and he invited discussion on the subject.

Mr. Watkin, who had also visited the spot, said the road seemed to have been about nine feet six inches in width, with an embankment of gravel about four feet in height, and with shelving sides. It was paved with large boulders, and here and there large pieces of concrete had been used. Ruts were plainly visible—ruts of the same width usually found in most Roman roads. He had examined one of the pieces of brick brought by the Chairman. One of them was decidedly part of a Roman tile; the others he could not speak about definitely. The road appeared to run in the direction of what was known as the Chain Bridge, and towards Hope Hall, where there were one or two Roman Roads. If it were of Roman origin, the road could not have been of great importance. Traces of the Romans had been found in Albert Park, adjoining Grecian Street, which pointed to the former existence of a Roman building there. Among them was Roman pottery and a fragment of fresco painting such as was often found on the walls of Roman buildings.

Mr. George Esdaile, who produced a sketch of a section of the road, said it seemed to have been made with an up and down line, but from the way in which the excavation had been conducted, the same cross section was not always met with, for the reason that the excavations had been for wall rows and not to find the road. The fact that these were simply ruts filled in with gravel to a depth of from sixteen to twenty inches, and only in thin layers of about three inches between the ruts, would lead to the belief that the road was not of Roman origin, as the Romans would have coated it with gravel of equal depth. Another point which seemed most conclusive against the idea of this road being of Roman origin, or even used by these people, was that there was not the least sign of a ditch on either side, and the condition of the ruts went far to prove that the standing wet was the cause of their existence.

Mr. Watkin said that the road had probably been used

as an occupation road in recent times; therefore some alterations had, no doubt, been made on the surface.*

Monsignor Gradwell, of Claughton, sent a communication with regard to "Woden's Ford," described last century as a "paved causeway across the river Irwell from Hulme Field where the Medlock loses itself in the Irwell, to the opposite bank, but now lost to the observer since the Irwell was made navigable." Monsignor Gradwell remarked that it would be an interesting question to know when the name arose. It was obvious, he said, that it was a Saxon name, and must have been given when the Angles were still pagan. He had come to the conclusion that the ford received the name from the forces, which formed the army of Ethelfurth in his campaign of 613. There was no record to show whether or not that army occupied Manchester, but one could well imagine the minds of the rude soldiers being so struck with the firm structure of the stone road across the stream that they deemed it a work worthy of the gods; hence the name Woden's Ford.

The Chairman suggested that Saxton's map of Lancashire, dated 1579, should be referred to, in order that it might be seen whether the name occurred there. This was done, and on it being stated that no such name could be found, the Chairman said he did not think the name was given to the place more than a hundred years ago.†

Mr. S. E. Haworth read a paper on the Dedication of Ancient Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire (see p. 93).

Mr. Axon gave a short paper on "Who was Mistress Joyce Lewes, of Manchester?" (see p. 145).

Mr. Albert Nicholson read a note on the Roe monument at Mottram Church, and exhibited Thomas Barritt's original

* Some letters on the subject of this road appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* for December, 1886, and April, 1887.

† At the meeting held on February 4th, 1887, Mr. J. P. Earwaker referred to these statements, and exhibited an ancient charter, dated 1292, showing that Woden's Ford was then called "Wodarneford." A facsimile of this charter, with Mr. Earwaker's remarks on it, will appear in the volume for 1887.

sketch of the monument, and his letter on the subject, addressed to John Stockdale, August 24th, 1794.

Mr. Esdaile read a paper on The Domesday-Book of Lancashire and Cheshire (see p. 35).

New members elected: J. Dalton Andrew, W. E. Dixon, Edward Collier, Rev. Harry Thompson Jones, M.A.

[A CORRECTION.

I desire to correct a statement in *Transactions*, iii. 200, viz. that Humphrey Chetham, Esq^{r}, died 27th July, 1635; I was led into the mistake by the similarity of the No. "1" of the foot-note and the "r" in "Esq^{r}" in *Record Society's Publications*, vol. vi. p. 200.

G. ESDAILE.]

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

It is a source of gratification to the Council of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society that they have again, in presenting an account of their stewardship, to record the continued progress, increased activity, and satisfactory position of the association. In presenting their fourth Annual Report, the Council feel that the work already done has fully realised the anticipations of the founders, and warrants the warmest hopes for the future usefulness of the Society.

The roll of the Society shows that there are now five Honorary, forty-five Life, and two hundred and fifty two Ordinary Members, making a total of three hundred and two.

Five of the original members have been removed by death: Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart., Alderman Sir Thomas Baker, Colonel T. U. Brocklehurst, Edward Kirk, and William Hartley.

Sir Humphrey de Trafford, Bart., who died May, 1886, was the representative of one of the oldest families in England. Although in his later years he took little part in public life, he had a keen interest in archæological pursuits, and the muniments of his family were preserved with religious care. Many of these interesting relics were exhibited to members of the Council by the late baronet; and whilst expressing their regret at his death, they venture to hope that the Trafford deeds and the matchless series of seals will be fully calendared and described in a form that will be accessible to antiquaries.

Sir Thomas Baker, Knt., who died 17th April, 1886, although a native of Birmingham, had for many years been closely identified with the city of Manchester, of which he was mayor in 1880 and 1881. As chairman of the Public Libraries Committee, he rendered

good service to the community. His extensive knowledge of local history and genealogy is shown in his *Memorials of a Dissenting Chapel.*

Mr. Edward Kirk, who died 28th March, 1886, was a native of Goosnargh, and had an unrivalled acquaintance with the folk-lore, dialect, and customs of North Lancashire. His papers in periodicals show great research, and it is to be hoped that the more important may be gathered into permanent form.

Mr. William Hartley, who died in September, 1886, afforded a remarkable instance of the successful pursuit of knowledge under difficulties. The son of a farmer, he abandoned the trade of hand-loom weaver for that of mechanic, and by study and industry became a mechanical engineer, distinguished for the variety and importance of his inventions. He collected a valuable library, was a skilful amateur artist, and took a warm interest in the prosperity of this Society.

Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Unett Brocklehurst was well known for his public services in Macclesfield. He was the author of a volume on Mexico, and had a large collection of Mexican antiquities, which were shown to the members of this Society at their visit in 1884. He died in August, 1886.

Of the summer meetings the first place must be given to the three days' visit to Ripon and the district. By the exertions of the Local Committee every facility was given to the visitors, and the gathering was highly successful.

Other important meetings were held at Agden Hall, Marple, Bolton, and Flixton. At each the members were hospitably entertained; at the first by Charles Lister, Esq., J.P.; at Marple by J. Bradshaw Isherwood, Esq.; at Bolton by the Local Committee; and at Flixton by Mr. and Mrs. Reede.

Well-attended meetings were held at Stockport, Wythenshawe Hall, The Bow Stones, Disley, Rochdale.

At the Owens College an interesting meeting was held, and an important and instructive collection of Australian stone and other implements was exhibited by members and friends.

Evening meetings have also been held at Clegg Hall, Belfield Hall, and Newbold Hall, Flixton, Bull Hill, Irlam Hall, and Queen's Park Museum.

The winter meetings held in the reading room of Chetham's

Library were well attended, and the numerous papers and the discussions by which they have been followed show that the interest has been sustained and, in fact, increased.

The following is a list of the papers, short communications, and addresses :—

1886.

Jan. 15.—W. O. Roper. The Premonstratensian Abbey of Cockersand.
„ 15.—William Harrison. The Development of the Turnpike System in Lancashire and Cheshire.
„ 15.—George Esdaile. The Orientation of Churches in England with special reference to those in Lancashire and Cheshire.
Feb. 5.—Robert Langton. Notes on Church Restoration.
„ 5.—S. E. Haworth. Dedications of Ancient Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire.
„ 5.—Dr. H. Colley March. Remarks on the Futhorc *Tir*, and a new theory of the Fylfot.
Mar. 5.—R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A. Exhibition and description of a series of Photographs of Roman Remains at Nimes and Arles.
„ 5.—Charles Collmann. On one of the Earliest Lists of Printed Books.
„ 5.—C. T. Tallent-Bateman. The Ancient Lancashire and Cheshire Local Courts of Justice.
April 2.—J. P. Earwaker, F.S.A. The Agecroft Charters and Deeds.
„ 2.—Dr. Renaud, F.S.A. An Early Fourteenth Century Floor in Prior Crawden's Chapel at Ely.
„ 2.—Major-General C. H. Owen. Wycoller Hall.
„ 16.—William E. A. Axon. The First Book Printed in Manchester.
„ 16.—Nathan Heywood. The Early Coinage of Henry Plantagenet.
„ 16.—W. S. Churchill. Groups of Coins with a History.
„ 16.—John Hirst. Exhibition and description of Specimens of MSS. of Eighteenth, Sixteenth, and Fifteenth Centuries, produced by Stencil Work.
May 13.—G. C. Yates. Clegg Hall.
„ 13.—George Esdaile. Belfield Hall.
„ 22.—J. Eglington Bailey, F.S.A. St. Werburgh.
„ 22.—George Esdaile. Warburtons of Warburton.
„ 22.— „ Agden Hall.
„ 27.—Henry Heginbotham, J.P. The History of Stockport.
June 5.—J. Holme Nicholson, M.A. Wythenshawe Hall.
„ 5.—J. Eglington Bailey. Richard Martinscrofte.
„ 5.—George Esdaile. Baguley Hall.
„ 17.—J. Eglington Bailey. The Scene of the Vicar of Wakefield.
„ 17.—J. Wood. Coxwold Church.
„ 18.—H. A. Rye. Helmsley Church and Castle, and Rievaulx Abbey.
„ 18.—J. Eglington Bailey. The Wards of Newby (a paper prepared by a lady member of a religious community).

June 19.—Rev. J. S. Tute, M.A. Fountains Abbey.
,, 19.—Rev. G. W. W. Minns. Acoustic Pottery.
,, 26.—J. Eglington Bailey. Marple Hall and the Bradshaws.
July 2.—Professor Leech, M.D. Flixton and its Church.
,, 2.—John Noton. The Site of the Battle of Brunanburh.
,, 19.—George C. Yates. Irlam Hall.
,, 31.—J. E. Worsley, F.S.A. Winwick Church.
,, 31.—W. Norbury. Red Bank.
Aug. 21.— ,, Old Halls in the Neighbourhood of Chorley.
,, 21.—Rev. E. J. Bell., M.A. Gothic Architecture.
Sep. 20.—W. Wareing Faulder. Queen's Park Museum.
,, 25.—Isaac Watt Boulton. The Bow Stones.
,, 25.—Dr. H. Colley March. ,,
,, 25.—W. T. Watkin. ,,
,, 25.—George C. Yates. ,,
Oct. 2.—Lieutenant-Colonel Fishwick. Rochdale Church.
,, 8.—Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins, F.R.S. The Art of the Runic Crosses.
,, 8.—W. E. A. Axon. The Significance of the Kufic coins found at Cuerdale.
,, 8.—James Croston, F.S.A. The Baguley Hall Warrior.
,, 9.—J. C. Scholes. Bolton Church.
,, 9.—J. Gilbert French. Bolton Grammar School.
,. 9.—J. R. Barlow. Egyptian Antiquities.
,, 9.—J. K. Waite. Bolton Free Library.
,, 9.—Thomas Holden. The Great Bowyer Bible.
Nov. 2.—Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D. Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones in Lancashire.
,, 5.—Rev. E. F. Letts, M.A. The Misereres or Subcellæ of the Choir Stalls in the Manchester Cathedral.
,, 5.—W. Thompson Watkin. Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains at Chester.
,, 5.—Thomas Oxley. Stone and Bone Esquimaux Implements.
,, 5.—Nathan Heywood. The Saxon Crosses and other Sepulchral Monuments at Ilkley.
,, 20.—R. D. Darbishire, F.S.A. Australian Stone Implements.
,, 20.—Prof. W. Boyd Dawkins. ,, ,,
,, 20.—Charles Heape. ,, ,,
,, 20.—George C. Yates. ,, ,,
,, 20.—Percy F. Kendall. ,, ,,
Dec. 3.—S. E. Haworth. Dedications of Ancient Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire.
,, 3.—Albert Nicholson. A Note on Mottram Church.
,, 3.—George Esdaile. The Domesday Book of Chester.
,, 3.—Monsignor Gradwell. Woden's Ford.
,, 3.—Wm. E. A. Axon. A Supposed Roman Road at Lower Broughton.
,, 3.—W. Thompson Watkin. Roman Coins found at Aston.
,, 3.—William E. A. Axon. Who was Mrs. Joyce Lewes, of Manchester?

The Winter Conversazione was held on 2nd November, in the Mayor's Parlour, at the Manchester Town Hall, which, by the courtesy of the Mayor, was placed at the disposal of the Society. The Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., of Cambridge, delivered an address on the Pre-Norman Sculptured Stones in Lancashire.

Many archæological objects were exhibited at the Conversazione, as well as at the ordinary meetings. These will be recorded in the annual volume.

The Treasurer's statement shows that the balance in hand is £171. 1s. 2d., and in addition to which the Society possesses £100 invested in the Manchester Corporation Stock, making a total of £271. 1s. 2d.

The best thanks of the Society are due to the Feoffees of Chetham's Hospital, for their great kindness in granting the use of the reading room for the winter meetings.

The year now concluded is memorable in English archæology as that of the commemoration of Domesday. At the gathering held last October in London, the Society was represented by Mr. George Esdaile.

To Mr. George Esdaile the Society is also indebted for his superintendence of a careful excavation of the site of the old Free Library in Byrom Street. The building was erected about 1840 as a Hall of Science, and several Roman relics were then found. The result of Mr. Esdaile's work is to show that the exploration was then done thoroughly, and that no more remains of the Roman period are to be found there.

The Council have again to thank Mr. C. W. Sutton for his efficient services as editor of the Society's annual volume of *Transactions*.

In conclusion, the Council would urge upon each member the individual duty of contributing to the success of the Society. The field of investigation is so wide and varied that it is only by the willing and hearty co-operation of all that permanent and substantial results can be attained.

W. A. COPINGER (HON. TREASURER) IN ACCOUNT WITH THE LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

Dr. *General Statement of Income and Expenditure for the Year 1886.* **Cr.**

1886.		£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	To Balance of Last Year's Account	90	4	5
,,	166 Subscriptions at 10s. 6d. each	87	3	0
,,	1 ,, at 10s.	0	10	0
,,	46 ,, and Entrance Fee at £1. 1s. 0d.	48	6	0
,,	7 Two years' Subscriptions and Entrance Fee at £1. 11s. 6d.	11	0	6
,,	1 Life Membership at £4. 4s. 0d.	4	4	0
,,	9 ,, at £5. 5s. 0d.	47	5	0
,,	5 ,, and Entrance Fee at £5. 15s. 6d.	28	17	6
,,	Interest on £100 invested with the Manchester Corporation	3	2	10
,,	Interest allowed by Bankers	1	19	0
		£322	12	3

1886.		£	s.	d.
Dec. 31.	By Printing and Stationery	13	6	4
,,	A. Ireland and Co., Printing of *Transactions*, volume iii.	86	15	0
,,	Plumbers—Leech Bros.	1	2	0
,,	Excursion and Soirée Expenses	14	4	4
,,	Excavations	3	4	5
,,	Reporters	2	11	6
,,	Repayment Subs. to Member on paying twice	0	10	6
,,	Postages	16	5	0
,,	Expenses at Winter Meetings, Clerical Help, and Sundries...	13	8	0
,,	Bankers' Commission	0	4	0
,,	Balance at Bankers'...	171	1	2
		£322	12	3

Balance at Bankers, 31st December, 1886...	171	1	2
Invested with the Manchester Corporation	100	0	0
	£271	1	2

January, 1887,

Audited and found correct.

RICHD. WEBB,
J. R. FAITHWAITE, } *Auditors.*

RULES.

(Revised January 28th, 1887.)

1. *Preamble.*—This Society is instituted to examine, preserve, and illustrate ancient Monuments and Records, and to promote the study of History, Literature, Arts, Customs, and Traditions with particular reference to the antiquities of Lancashire and Cheshire.

2. *Name, &c.*—This Society shall be called the "LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY."

3. *Election of Members.*—Candidates for admission to the Society must be proposed by one member of the Society, and seconded by another. Applications for admission must be submitted in writing to the Council, who shall report to the next ordinary meeting the names of such candidates. At the next ordinary meeting thereafter following, the names of all the candidates so reported shall be put to the meeting for election as the first business following the reading and confirmation, or otherwise, of the minutes of the preceding meeting, and the election shall be determined by common assent or dissent, unless a ballot shall be called for in the case of any one or more of the candidates by any member then present. In case of ballot one black ball in five shall exclude. During the period of the year when the ordinary meetings are suspended, the Council shall have power to invite to general meetings any candidate whom they have resolved to recommend for election at the next ordinary meeting. Each new member shall have his election notified to him by the Honorary Secretary, and shall at the same time be furnished with a copy of the Rules, and be required to remit to the Treasurer, within two months after such notification, his entrance fee and subscription; and if the

same shall be thereafter unpaid for more than two months, his name may be struck off the list of members, unless he can justify the delay to the satisfaction of the Council. No new member shall participate in any of the advantages of the Society until he has paid his entrance fee and subscription. Each member shall be entitled to admission to all meetings of the Society, and to introduce a visitor, provided that the same person be not introduced to two ordinary or general meetings in the same year. Each member shall receive, free of charge, such ordinary publications of the Society as shall have been issued since the commencement of the year in which he shall have been elected, provided that he shall have paid all subscriptions then due from him. The Council shall have power to remove any name from the list of members on due cause being shown to them. Members wishing to resign at the termination of the year can do so by informing the Honorary Secretary, in writing, of their intention on or before the 30th day of November, in that year.

4. *Honorary Members.*—The Council shall have the power of recommending persons for election as honorary members.

5. *Honorary Local Secretaries.*—The Council shall have power to appoint any person Honorary Local Secretary, whether he be a member or not, for the town or district wherein he may reside, in order to facilitate the collection of accurate information as to objects and discoveries of local interest.

6. *Subscriptions.*—An annual subscription of ten shillings and sixpence shall be paid by each member. All such subscriptions shall be due in advance on the first day of January.

7. *Entrance Fee.*—Each person on election shall pay an entrance fee of one guinea in addition to his first year's subscription.

8. *Life Membership.*—A payment of seven guineas shall constitute the composition for life membership, including the entrance fee.

9. *Government.*—The affairs of the Society shall be conducted by a Council, consisting of the President of the Society, two Vice-Presidents, in addition to the Past-Presidents, the Honorary Secretary, and Treasurer, and fifteen members elected out of the general body of the members. The Council shall retire annually, but the members of it shall be eligible for re-election. Any intermediate vacancy by death or retirement may

be filled up by the Council. Four members of the Council to constitute a quorum. The Council shall meet at least four times yearly. A meeting may at any time be convened by the Honorary Secretary by direction of the President, or on the requisition of four members of the Council. Two Auditors shall be appointed by the members at the ordinary meeting next preceding the final meeting of the Session.

10. *Mode of Electing Officers other than the Auditors.*—The Council shall in each year prepare a list of a sufficient number of members to fill the several offices becoming vacant at the close of the year. Any member desiring to nominate a member or members for election to any office in the Society, other than that of Auditor, shall send in the name or names of such persons, with their addresses, to the Honorary Secretary, in writing, not less than twenty-one days before the date of the annual meeting, such document being signed by himself as proposer and one other member as seconder. The Honorary Secretary shall send by post to every member whose address is known to him, not later than fourteen days before the meeting, an alphabetical list of all persons so nominated, including those nominated by the Council, with their addresses, and the names and addresses of their proposers and seconders, except those nominated by the Council, which shall be distinguished by an asterisk following their names. The election of officers shall take place at the annual meeting. In case of contest the election shall be by ballot.

11. *Retiring President.*—Each retiring President shall retain his seat on the Council, and become a Vice-President.

12. *Duties of Officers.*—The duty of the President shall be to preside at the meetings of the Society, and to maintain order. His decision in all questions of precedence amongst speakers, and on all disputes which may arise during the meeting, to be absolute. In the absence of the President or Vice-Presidents, it shall be competent for the members present to elect a chairman. The Treasurer shall take charge of all moneys belonging to the Society, pay all accounts passed by the Council, and submit his accounts and books, duly audited, to the annual meeting, the same having been submitted to the meeting of the Council immediately preceding such annual meeting. The duties of the

Honorary Secretary shall be to attend all meetings of the Council and Society, enter in detail, as far as practicable, the proceedings at each meeting, to conduct the correspondence, preserve all letters received, and convene all meetings by circular, if requisite. He shall also prepare and present to the Council a report of the year's work, and, after confirmation by the Council, shall read the same to the members at the annual meeting.

13. *Annual Meeting.*—The annual meeting of the Society shall be held in the last week of January.

14. *Ordinary Meetings.*—Ordinary meetings shall be held in Manchester, at 6-15 p.m., on the *first Friday* of each month from *October* to *April* for the reading of papers, the exhibition of objects of antiquity, and the discussion of subjects connected therewith.

15. *General Meetings.*—The Council may, from time to time, convene general meetings at different places rendered interesting by their antiquities, architecture, or historic associations. The work of these meetings shall include papers, addresses, exhibitions, excavations, and any other practicable means shall be adopted for the elucidation of the history and antiquities of the locality visited.

16. *Exploration and Excavation.*—The Council may, from time to time, make grants of money towards the cost of excavating and exploring, and for the general objects of the Society.

17. *Publications.*—Original papers and ancient documents communicated to the Society may be published in such manner as the Council shall from time to time determine. Back volumes of the Transactions and other publications of the Society remaining in stock may be purchased by any member of the Society at such prices as the Council shall determine.

18. *Property.*—The property of the Society shall be vested in the names of three Trustees to be chosen by the Council.

19. *Interpretation Clause.*—In these Rules the masculine shall include the feminine gender.

20. *Alteration of Rules.*—These Rules shall not be altered except by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting at the annual or at a special meeting convened for that purpose. Fourteen days' notice of such intended alteration is to be given to every member of the Society.

LIST OF MEMBERS.

The * denotes a Life Member.
The † denotes an Honorary Member.

Date of Election.	
March 21st, 1883.	Abram, W. A., F.R.H.S., Adelaide Terrace, Blackburn.
September 4th, 1883.	Adshead, G. H., Fern Villas, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Agnew, W., J.P., Summer Hill, Pendleton.
July 26th, 1884.	Ainsworth, R. H., J.P., Smithills Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Frank, J.P., Chester Square, Ashton-under-Lyne.
June 11th, 1886.	Andrew, J. D., Town Hall, Ardwick.
September 4th, 1883.	Andrew, Samuel, St. John's Terrace, Hey Lees, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883.	Andrew, Walter J., Moss Side, Ashton-under-Lyne.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James Lawton, M.D., Mossley.
July 25th, 1885.	Andrew, James, The Avenue, Patricroft.
March 21st, 1883.	Anson, Ven. Archdeacon G. H. G., M.A., Birch Rectory, Rusholme.
March 21st, 1883.	Armitage, Benjamin, J.P., Halton Bank, Pendleton.
October 8th, 1886.	Arning, Charles, jun., Fern Lea, 199, Wilmslow Road, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883.	Arnold, W. T., M.A., 226, Plymouth Grove, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	Ashby, Henry, M.D., M.R.C.S., 13, St. John Street, Manchester.
April 15th, 1885.	*Ashworth, Edmund, J.P., Egerton Hall, Bolton-le-Moors.
December 4th, 1885.	Ashworth, Joseph, Albion Place, Walmersley Road, Bury.
April 14th, 1885.	Atkinson, Rev. Canon, B.D., Bolton.
November 5th, 1886.	Attkins, Edgar, Princess Street, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Axon, W. E. A., M.R.S.L., Murray Street, Higher Broughton.

March 5th, 1886. Bagshaw, Thomas, Eccles New Road, Salford.
March 21st, 1883. Bailey, John Eglington, F.S.A., Egerton Villa, Stretford.
June 13th, 1885. Bailey, Mrs. John E., Egerton Villa, Stretford.
March 21st, 1883. *Bailey, Alderman W. H., Summerfield, Eccles New Road, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Baillie, Edmund J., F.L.S., Woodbine, Eaton Road, Chester.
June 10th, 1886. Ball, Thomas, Eccles.
September 4th, 1883. Bannister, John, 44, Broadway, Salford.
January 11th, 1884. Barlow, John Robert, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton.
June 17th, 1884. Barlow, Miss, Greenthorne, Edgworth, Bolton-le-Moors.
June 13th, 1885. Barlow, Miss Annie E. F., Greenthorne, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Barraclough, Thomas, 8, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Bateman, C. T. Tallent, Cromwell Road, Stretford.
April 14th, 1885. Baugh, Joseph, Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. Baugh, Mrs., Edendale, Whalley Range.
January 7th, 1887. Bayley, Rev. C. J., M.A., Heaton Norris.
July 30th, 1885. Bayley, Charles W., 5, Polygon, Eccles.
June 26th, 1883. Baynton, Alfred, Gilda Brook Park, Eccles.
January 29th, 1885. Berry, Charles F., 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
December 7th, 1883. Berry, James, 153, Moss Lane East, Moss Side.
July 31st, 1886. Booth James, New Lane, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bowden, William, Gorsefield, Patricroft.
September 4th, 1883. Bradbury, John, M.R.S.L., St. Mary's Gate, Manchester.
June 26th, 1883. Bradsell, B. J. T., 12, Oswald Street, Hulme.
March 21st, 1883. Bridgen, Thomas Edward, Oaklynne, Fallowfield.
November 5th, 1886. Brimelow, Wm., 153, Park Road, Bolton.
May 7th, 1885. *Brockholes, W. Fitzherbert, J.P., Claughton Hall, Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
September 28th, 1883. Brooke, John, A.R.I.B.A., 18, Exchange Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Brooks, Sir William Cunliffe, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Barlow Hall, Manchester.
March 5th, 1886. Buckley, George F., Linfitts House, Delph, Oldham.
May 22nd, 1886. Bulkeley, E. W., F.R.H.S., Sumner Field, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Burton, Alfred, 37, Cross Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Burton, William E., 162, Bury New Road, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886. Bury, Judson S., M.D., Cheshire View, Pendleton.

March 21st, 1883. Carington, H. H. Smith, Brookfield House, Whaley Bridge.

May 2nd, 1885.	Carr, William, The Hollies, Newton Heath.
October 8th, 1886.	*Chesson, Rev. Wm. H., Folly Lane, Swinton.
March 21st, 1883.	Christie, Richard Copley, M.A., Chancellor of the Diocese of Manchester, Glenwood, Virginia Water, Staines.
March 21st, 1883.	Churchill, W. S., 24, Birch Lane, Manchester.
June 11th, 1886.	Clarke, Dr. W. H., Park Green, Macclesfield.
September 4th, 1883.	Colley, A. H. Davis, A.R.I.B.A., 48, King Street, Manchester.
December 3rd, 1886.	*Collier, Edward, 74, Yarburgh Street, Moss Side.
December 4th, 1885.	Collinson, F. J., 5, St. James' Square, Manchester.
January 11th, 1884.	Collmann, Charles, Elmhurst, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883.	Copinger, W. A., F.S.A., The Priory, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884.	Cowell, P., Free Library, Liverpool.
January 7th, 1887.	Cox, George F., 26, Cathedral Yard, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	†Crawford and Balcarres, The Right Hon. the Earl of, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.R.A.S., Haigh Hall, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883.	Creeke, Major A. B., Monkholme, Burnley.
March 21st, 1883.	Crofton, Rev. Addison, M.A., The Parsonage, Reddish Green, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883.	Crofton, H. T., 86, Brazennose Street, Manchester.
October 8th, 1886.	*Crompton, Alfred, jun., Dunsters, Bury.
March 21st, 1883.	Croston, James, F.S.A., Upton Hall, Prestbury.
March 21st, 1883.	Crowther, Joseph S., Endsleigh, Alderley Edge.
March 21st, 1883.	Darbishire, R. D., B.A., F.S.A., 26, George Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Darbyshire, Alfred, F.R.I.B.A., Brazennose Street, Manchester.
September 28th, 1883.	*Dauntesey, Robert, Agecroft Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Dawkins, Professor William Boyd, F.R.S., F.S.A., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883.	Dawkins, Mrs., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
November 2nd, 1883.	Dearden, J. Griffith, Wytham-on-the-Hill, Bourne.
March 21st, 1883.	*Derby, Right Hon. the Earl of, D.C.L., F.R.S., Knowsley, Prescot.
March 21st, 1883.	*Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London.
December 3rd, 1886.	Dixon, W. E., 31, Keppel Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
May 4th, 1883.	Doody, C. C., 7, Portland Street, Manchester.
January 15th, 1886.	Duncan, James, M.B., Ashton-under-Lyne.
March 21st, 1883.	Earwaker, J. P., M.A., F.S.A., Pensarn, Abergele.
October 8th, 1886.	*Eastwood, J. A., Princess Street, Manchester.
January 29th, 1885.	Ecroyd, William, Spring Cottage, Burnley.

March 21st, 1883.	Egerton, Hon. Algernon, Worsley Old Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	*Egerton, Right Hon. the Lord, F.S.A., Tatton Park, Knutsford.
June 11th, 1886.	*Ermen, Henry E., Rose Bank, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
March 21st, 1883.	Esdaile, George, Rivington View, Stretford.
March 21st, 1883.	*Evans, John, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., Nash Mills, Hemel Hempstead.
March 21st, 1883.	*Evans, Joseph, Hurst House, Prescot.
May 4th, 1883.	Faithwaite, J. R., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.
March 21st, 1883.	ffarington, Miss, Worden, Preston.
March 21st, 1883.	Faulder, W. Wareing, Ellerslie, Cheetham Hill.
June 13th, 1885.	Fell, John, J.P., Mayor of Barrow, Dane Ghyll, Furness.
December 5th, 1884.	Finney James, Solicitor, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883.	Fishwick, Lieut.-Col. Henry, F.S.A., The Height, Rochdale.
October 8th, 1886.	Fletcher, Dr. Richard, Gt. Clowes Street, Broughton.
March 31st, 1885.	*Foljambe, Cecil G. Saville, M.P., F.S.A., Cockglode, Ollerton, Newark.
May 4th, 1883.	Fox, R. Dacre, M.R.C.S., 62, Nelson Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.
July 31st, 1886.	Freeman, R. Knill, East View, Haulgh, Bolton.
February 6th, 1885.	French, Gilbert J., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885.	French, Mrs., Belmont Road, Sharples, Bolton.
June 13th, 1885.	French, Miss K., Newport Square, Bolton.
December 9th, 1886.	*Frost, Robert, B.Sc., Bright Side, Altrincham.
March 21st, 1883.	Gill, Richard, *Examiner* Office, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Gillespie, Rev. Charles G. K., 39, Hall Street, Stockport.
December 7th, 1883.	Goldschmidt, Philip, Oldenburg House, Rusholme.
May 4th, 1883.	Goodyear, Charles, 39, Lincroft Street, Moss Side.
May 7th, 1885.	Gradwell, Rev. Mgr., Claughton-on-Brock, Garstang.
March 21st, 1883.	Grafton, F. W.; J.P., Hope Hall, Manchester.
February 6th, 1885.	Grafton, Francis, Hope Hall, Manchester.
January 11th, 1884.	Grafton, Miss, Hope Hall, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883.	Gratrix, Samuel, West Point, Whalley Range.
January 11th, 1884.	Gray, Henry, Leicester Square, London.
September 18th, 1885.	Greenhough, R., jun., Church Street, Leigh.
March 21st, 1883.	Greenwood, J. G., LL.D., The Owens College, Manchester.
April 2nd, 1886.	*Grimshaw, William, Sale.
July 25th, 1885.	*Guest, William H., 78, Cross Street, Manchester.
June 14th, 1886.	Güterbock, Alfred, Newington, Bowdon.

March 21st, 1883. Hadfield, E., Harroll Terrace, Swinton.
November 7th, 1884. Hall, James, 79, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Hall, Major G. W., Marlborough Square, Salford.
October 9th, 1885. Hampson, Francis, Platt Cottage, Rusholme.
October 8th, 1886. Hand, Thomas W., Free Library, Oldham.
March 21st, 1883. Hardwick, Charles, 72, Talbot Street, Moss Side.
February 6th, 1885. Harrison, William, 84, Shakspere Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Hartington, Right Hon. the Marquis of, M.P., Devonshire House, London.
September 29th, 1884. Hartley, William, 24, Devonshire Street, Higher Broughton. (Deceased.)
March 21st, 1883. Haworth, S. E., Worsley Road, Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Heape, Joseph R., 96, Tweedale Street, Rochdale.
June 13th 1885. Heape, Charles, Glebe House, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Hearle, Rev. G. W., M.A., Newburgh, Wigan.
March 31st, 1885. Heathcote, Wm. Hy., 61, Avenham Lane, Preston.
May 4th, 1883. Heginbotham, Henry, J.P., Stockport.
June 11th, 1886. Herford, Rev. P. M., M.A., Gatley Vicarage, Cheadle.
September 4th, 1883. Hewitson, Anthony, *Chronicle* Office, Preston.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Nathan, 3, Mount Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Heywood, Oliver, J.P., Claremont, Manchester.
May 21st, 1883. Hirst, John, J.P., F.R.M.S., Lad Castle, Dobcross, Saddleworth.
June 17th, 1884. Hodgson, Edwin,
October 8th, 1886. Holden, Arthur T., Waterfoot, Heaton, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Holden, Thomas, Springfield, Bolton.
January 11th, 1884. *Houldsworth, W. H., M.P., Norbury Booths Hall, Knutsford.
March 7th, 1884. Howorth, Daniel F., F.S.A. Scot., Stamford Terrace, Ashton-under-Lyne.
March 21st, 1883. Howorth, Henry H., M.P., F.S.A., Bentcliffe, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Hughes, Charles, Cheetwood House, Manchester.
March 4th, 1887. Hughes, T. Cann., 14, George Street, Moss Side.
March 21st, 1883. Hulton, W. W. B., J.P., Hulton Park, Bolton.

June 11th, 1886. Ives, Miss, 77, Adswood Lane, Stockport.

November 5th, 1886. Jackson, Miss E. S., 56, Arkwright Street, Bolton.
May 4th, 1883. Jackson, S., 56, Arkwright Street, Bolton.
December 3rd, 1886. Jones, Rev. Harry Thompson, M.A., Acresfield Farm, Swinton Park.
September 28th, 1883. Johnson, J. H., F.G.S., 73, Albert Road, Southport.
January 21st, 1886. Johnson, Mrs., 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
May 2nd, 1885. *Johnson, William, 91, Hulton Street, Moss Side.
March 4th, 1887. Johnstone, Rev. Thomas Boston, M.A., 116, Chorley New Road, Bolton.

September 28th, 1883. Jordan, Thomas L., M.R.C.S., 14, Lorne Road, Fallowfield.

May 2nd, 1885. Kay, James, Lark Hill, Timperley.
March 21st, 1883. Kay, J. Taylor, South View, Platt Lane, Rusholme.
June 11th, 1886. *Kay, Thomas, J.P., Hillgate, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Kirkman, William Wright, 8, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

March 21st, 1883. Langton, Robert, F.R.H.S., Albert Chambers, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. *Lathom, Right Hon. the Earl of, 41, Portland Place, W.
March 21st, 1883. *Lawton, Josh. F., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
July 18th, 1885. *Lawton, Mrs., Stamford Villa, Altrincham.
June 11th, 1886. Lawton, J. E. P., Marle House, Micklehurst, Mossley.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Professor D. J., M.D., F.R.C.P., Elm House, Whalley Range.
March 21st, 1883. Leech, Mrs., Elm House, Whalley Range.
December 7th, 1883. Leech, Miss M. L., Reede House, Flixton.
May 4th, 1883. Lees, William, Egerton Villa, Heywood.
December 4th, 1885. Letherbrow, Thomas, Lyme View, Norbury Moor, Stockport.
March 21st, 1883. Letts, Rev. E. F., M.A., The Rectory, Newton Heath.
June 11th, 1886. *Lever, Ellis, Culcheth Hall, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. *Lister, Charles, J.P., Agden Hall, Lymm.
March 21st, 1883. Lord, H., 42, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Lowe, John, F.R.I.B.A., 22, Mansfield Chambers, St. Ann's Square, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. *Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.S.A., 15, Lombard Street, London.
November 7th, 1884. Lynam, C., F.R.I.B.A., Stoke-upon-Trent.

August 15th, 1885. *Makinson, W. G., Montrose Villa, Ashton-on-Ribble.
March 21st, 1883. March, H. Colley, M.D., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
May 20th, 1885. March, Mrs., 2, West Street, Rochdale.
March 21st, 1883. Martin, William Young, M.D., The Limes, Walkden, Bolton.
July 31st, 1886. Martin, Mrs., The Limes, Walkden.
November 18th, 1884. Miller, William Pitt, Merlewood, Grange-over-Sands.
March 21st, 1883. Milner, George, 59a, Mosley Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Moorhouse, Frederick, Kingston Mount, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Morris, Claude J., The Mount, Altrincham.

March 21st, 1883. Newton, Miss, Holly House, Flixton.
June 26th, 1883. Newton, C. E., Roebuck Lane, Brooklands.

September 4th, 1883. Nicholson, Albert, 62, Fountain Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Nicholson, J. Holme, M.A., Carill Drive, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. Norbury, William, Morley Cottage, Leigh.

July 26th, 1884. Oakley, Frank, The Deanery, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. O'Conor, Rev. W. A., B.A., Upper Brook Street, Manchester. (Deceased.)
May 20th, 1885. Odgers, Rev. J. Edwin, M.A., Horton, Bowdon.
May 22nd, 1886. Odgers, Mrs., Horton, Bowdon.
April 16th, 1886. †Owen, John, Kennedy Grave Lane, Davenport, Stockport.
April 2nd, 1886. *Owen, Major-General C. H., R.A., Alton Lodge, Hartley Wintney, Winchfield, Hants.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, H. M., 97, Bridge Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Oxley, Thomas, Helme House, Ellesmere Park, Eccles.

July 26th, 1884. Paley, E. G., F.R.I.B.A., Lancaster.
May 22nd, 1886. Parkes, Rev. S. H., B.A., Swinton.
December 7th, 1883. Parkinson, Richard, Barr Hill, Pendleton.
February 5th, 1886. Pattinson, J. P., M.A., 11a, Piccadilly.
October 8th, 1886. *Peace, Maskell Wm., 18, King Street, Wigan.
March 21st, 1883. Pearson, George, Southside, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pearson, Henry, Union Bank, Salford.
September 4th, 1883. *Pearson, Thomas, Golborne Park, Newton-le-Willows.
May 4th, 1883. Peel, Robert, Fulshaw Avenue, Wilmslow.
October 8th, 1886. Pike, C. F., Bella Vista, Lostock Road, Urmston.
September 4th, 1883. Pilkington, Alfred, Oakwood, Eccles.
March 21st, 1883. Pink, William D., Leigh.
March 21st, 1883. Pocklington, Rev. J. N., St. Michael's Rectory, Hulme.
July 25th, 1885. Posnett, W. A., Ratcliffe Road, Bolton.
March 5th, 1886. Potter, Robert Cecil, Heald Grove, Rusholme.
March 21st, 1883. Prestwich, James C., Leigh.

April 2nd, 1886. Radford, W. Harold, The Haven, Whalley Range.
April 14th, 1885. Redhead, R. Milne, F.L.S., Holden Clough, Bolton-by-Bowland, Clitheroe.
October 17th, 1884. Reid, David, Bowerbank, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. Renaud, Frank, M.D., F.S.A., Hillside, Alderley Edge.
May 4th, 1883. Reynolds, Rev. G. W., M.A., St. Mark's Rectory, Cheetham Hill.
March 21st, 1883. *Ridehalgh, Lieut.-Col., J.P., Fell Foot, Newby Bridge.
December 7th, 1883. Rigge, George Wilson, Police Street, Manchester.
September 29th, 1884. Rimmer, John H., M.A., LL.M., Madeley, Newcastle, Staff.
June 11th, 1886. Robertson, John, Stoneleigh, Lees, Oldham.

December 22nd, 1884. Robinow, Max, Hawthornden House, Palatine Road, Didsbury.
September 4th, 1883. Robinson, John, 56, Church Street, Eccles.
May 2nd, 1885. *Robinson, J. B., F.R.M.S., Devonshire House, Mossley.
February 4th, 1887. Roeder, Charles, 92, Lloyd Street, Greenheys.
July 26th, 1884. *Roper, W. O., Lancaster.
May 4th, 1883. Rowbotham, G. H., Manchester and Salford Bank Limited.
April 22nd, 1884. Rudd, John, Palatine Road, Didsbury.
March 21st, 1883. Russell, Rev. E. J., M.A., Todmorden.
March 21st, 1883. *Rylands, Thomas G., F.S.A., Highfield, Thelwall, Warrington.

May 4th, 1883. Sales, Henry H., 68, Greame Street, Whalley Range.
May 4th, 1883. Sandbach, J. E., Stoodley Hall, Eastwood, Todmorden.
December 7th, 1883. Scholes, James C., 46, Newport Street, Bolton.
March 21st, 1883. Schou, Nicolai C., 40, South King Street, Manchester.
April 14th, 1885. *Schwabe, Charles, Glenthorne, Whalley Range.
October 9th, 1885. Scott, E. D., Greenbank, Ashton-upon-Mersey.
June 26th, 1883. Scott, Fred, 100, King Street, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Shaw, Giles, 72, Manchester Street, Oldham.
November 7th, 1884. Shaw, James, 95, Brookshaw Terrace, Walmersley Road, Bury.
June 26th, 1883. Sheil, Charles, Victoria Terrace, Bolton Road, Pendleton.
November 18th, 1884. Sherriff, Herbert, Dean's Villa, Swinton.
June 26th, 1883. Shuttleworth, John, Withington.
March 21st, 1883. Smith, C. C., Birchfield, Swinton.
January 11th, 1884. †Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Temple Place, Strood, Kent.
March 7th, 1884. Smith, David, J.P., 33, Brighton Grove, Rusholme.
May 22nd, 1886. Smith, Fredk. Ford, Lime Grove, Brooklands.
March 21st, 1883. Smith, J. J., B.A., Heywood.
October 8th, 1886. Smith, Thomas E., 189, St. George's Road, Bolton.
June 11th, 1886. Smith, William Ford, Woodstock, Didsbury.
November 18th, 1884. Standen, Robert, Industrial Schools, Swinton.
March 21st, 1883. Standring, Alfred, LL.M., M.A., Beech House, Knutsford.
March 21st, 1883. Stanning, Rev. J. H., M.A., Leigh Vicarage, Lancashire.
June 26th, 1883. Steinthal, E. F. L., 81, Nelson Street, Manchester.
October 9th, 1885. Stephenson, D., Fulshaw Lodge, Wilmslow.
June 26th, 1883. Stern, Miss, Wynthrop, Ashton-on-Mersey.
July 26th, 1884. *Storey, Herbert L., Lancaster.

March 21st, 1883. Sutton, Charles W., 14, Park View, Chorlton Road, Manchester.
October 17th, 1884. Sutton, Richard H., 26, Princess Street, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Swindells, John, 38, Faulkner Street, Manchester.

April 2nd, 1886. *Tatham, Leonard, 26, George Street, Manchester.
November 7th, 1884. Taylor, Alexander, Plumtrees, Bury.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Henry, Braeside, Tunbridge Wells.
January 7th, 1887. *Taylor, James, Oak Leigh, Worsley Road, Swinton.
October 8th, 1886. Taylor, J. R., Sandheys, Ashton-on-Mersey.
March 21st, 1883. Taylor, Joshua, 7, Richmond Street, Manchester.
September 4th, 1883. Thornton, J. S., Victoria Park School, Manchester.
March 12th, 1884. Thorp, Ernest, Buxton Road House, Macclesfield.
May 4th, 1883. Thorp, J. Walter H., Jordan Gate House, Macclesfield.
November 5th, 1886. †Tinkler, J. E., Chetham's Library, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Tonge, Rev. Canon Richard, M.A., Wilbraham Road, Chorlton-cum-Hardy.
March 21st, 1883. Toole, Very Rev. Canon Lawrence, D.D., St. Wilfrid's, Manchester.
June 30th, 1885. *Trappes, Charles J. B., J.P., Nidd Lodge, Higher Broughton.
October 8th, 1886. *Tristram, Wm. H., Darcy Lever Hall, Bolton.
February 5th, 1886. Turner, William, Westlands, Plymouth Grove.

July 31st, 1886. Underdown, H. W., North Leigh, Whalley Range.

October 8th, 1886. Virgo, Charles G., Queen's Park, Manchester.

December 7th, 1883. Waddington, Wm. Angelo, Carlton Road, Burnley.
June 13th, 1885. Wadsworth, Christopher, Eccles.
July 31st, 1886. Wales, George Carew, Hill Top Farm, Wilmslow.
March 21st, 1883. Walter, William, M.A., M.D., 20, St. John Street, Manchester.
November 6th, 1885. Warburton, W. Daulby, M.A., 83, Bignor Street, Cheetham.
May 4th, 1883. Ward, Prof. A. W., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883. Ward, James, Leigh.
June 11th, 1886. *Waters, Edwin H., Green Bank, Langham Road, Bowdon.
March 21st, 1883. Watkin, W. Thompson, 242, West Derby Road, Liverpool.
July 31st, 1886. Watson, W. Alfred, 27, Linwood Street, Hulme.
May 4th, 1883. Webb, Richard, 34, Grafton Street, Oxford Road, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Wieler, Miss R. C., Woodhurst, Fallowfield.
July 31st, 1886. Wimpory, Alfred, Altrincham.

November 2nd, 1883. Wilkins, Professor A. S., M.A., LL.D., The Owens College.
March 21st, 1883. *Wilkinson, Thomas Read, The Polygon, Ardwick.
April 14th, 1885. Wiper, William, Rock Terrace, Higher Broughton.
June 26th, 1883. Wood, Joseph, Fallowfield.
March 21st, 1883. *Wood, R. H., F.S.A., Penrhos House, Rugby.
November 18th, 1884. Woodhouse, Rev. Canon Charles W., 65, Ardwick Green, Manchester.
March 21st, 1883. Worthington, Thomas, F.R.I.B.A., 110, King Street, Manchester.
December 22nd, 1884. Worthington, T. Locke, 12, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
May 4th, 1883. Wright, T. Frank, The Airds, Bennett Street, Higher Crumpsall.
December 22nd, 1884. Wylie, J. H., M.A., Heybrook, Rochdale.

March 21st, 1883. †Yates, George C., F.S.A., Swinton, Manchester.

INDEX.

Achecroft vill 207
Acoustic pottery 289
Adams Capt. 258
Adams Roger 14
Adolph Duke of Nassau 116
Aelred 282 283
Agden Ellen d. of William 238
Agden Jone 238
Agden Robert 238
Agden Hall 238
Agecroft Hall Charters and Deeds 199 *seq.*
Agecroft private chapel 212
Ainsworth John Horrocks 356
Ainsworth Robert 355 360
Aitken Capt. 305
Aketon *see* Agden
Albinson John 359
Aldborough 275
Aldborough brass 276
Aldburgh Ivo de 276
Aldburgh William de 276
Aldburgh Sir William 271
Alderley 99
Alderley Church 111 314
Alderley Old Hall 112
Aleria 124 126
Alkrington Manor 201 202 206
Altrincham 84 87
Alvanley Lord 248
Amerie Phillipe d' 20
Amounderness Wapentake Court 67
Ampthill hoard of coins 19
Anderton — 13
Anderton James 345
Andreas Joannes 124 126
Anna Maria Ludovica 156
Annam stone 11
Appleby — 145
Appleton 236
Aquinas Thomas 120
Arabs early traders 333
Archer Francis 382
Arderne John de 218
Ardernes of Harden 252
Ardwick Green 88
Aretino L. 124
Arkwright Sir R. 336
Armour at Queen's Park Museum 315
Arms found at Westhoughton 358
Ashall *see* Asshawe
Ashbourne 87
Ashe Mr. 307
Ashhurst Wm. 225 298
Ashton James of Chadderton 202
Ashton Theophilus 229
Ashton-under-Lyne Court of Requests 79
Ashton-under-Lyne roads 84 90
Ashwell Church 59
Asshawe — 189
Asshawe Ann d. of Thomas 188
Asshawe Edward 197
Asshawe Elizabeth 186 197
Asshawe Elizabeth d. of Leonard 198
Asshawe Ellen 197
Asshawe Jane 197
Asshawe Judith 197
Asshawe Lawrence 186 196 197
Asshawe Leonard 186 196 197 *ter.*
Asshawe Margaret 197
Asshawe Roger 186
Asshawe Hall 299
Assheton Margaret d. of John de 207
Assheton brasses 363
Aston 236, Roman coins found at 385
Athelstan King 302
Atherton Katherine d. of Wm. 207

Austerlands 84
Australian Stone Implements 370 *seq.*
Austrian thalers 161
Axon W. E. A. 221 222 229 360 387, on the First Book printed in Manchester 13, on Mistress Joyce Lewes 145, on Kufic coins found at Cuerdale 332
Aylward Orme son of Edward 183

Backgammon game 142
Baggalegh *see* Baguley
Baggiley *see* Baguley
Baguley family 151 264
Baguley Ellen 152
Baguley Isabel 153
Baguley John 152
Baguley Ralph 151
Baguley Richard 231
Baguley Sir William 151 152
Baguley 225
Baguley Hall 149 264
Bailey J. E. 191 227 266 274 278 291 359, on Henry Bradshaw 225, on St. Werburgh 232, on Charlotte de la Trémouille 252, on Richard Martinscrofte 259, on the Scene of the Vicar of Wakefield 285, on Judge Bradshaw and Milton 293
Baker Sir Thomas, obituary 391
Balbis J. de 123
Bampfield Francis 15
Bampfield Sir John 15
Bampfield Thomas 15
Banastre Roger Dickonson 209
Bancroft Elizabeth 293
Barber Charles 109
Barlow Alex. 230
Barlow J. R. 360, on Egyptian Antiquities 338
Barnardiston Arthur 231
Barnardiston Samuel 231
Barnhill 83
Barritt Thomas 387
Barton Andrew son of John 186
Barton Randle 186 300
Barton Robert 186
Barton Thos. son of Randolph 187
Bateman C. T. T. 226 227, on Ancient Local Courts 61
Bayne Ralph bishop 146 147
Beck Richard 141
Bedingfeld Frances 274
Beer 261
Belfield family 230
Belfield Elizabeth 230
Belfield Ralph 230
Belfield Hall 229 230 231
Bell Christopher 264
Bell Rev. E. J. 314
Bellassys Grace 187
Bellassys Henry 187
Bellasys Sir Rowland 346
Bells Flixton 186 196
Bent — 193
Bent John 197
Bentcliffe Hall 185
Beresford W. 148
Bernher Augustine 146
Beverley Minster 55
Beverley misereres 132
Bible Bowyer or Macklin 357 *seq.*
Birch Thomas of Birch 253
Birkenhead 87
Birkenhead Priory 151
Blackburn 86 90
Blackburn Court Baron 67
Blackburn Vicar of 218
Blacket Sir Edward 269
Blacket John 269
Blacket Sir Wm. 269
Blacket Sir W. C. 269
Blackshaw's i'th' Fields 108
Blackstone Edge 84
Blackwell Helen 320
Blackwell Ralph 320
Blakemoor 282
Bloody stone at Winwick 309
Blundell — 254
Blyton Richard 284
Boardman Thos. 354
Boccaccio 123 124
Bollin Fee 99
Bollin Hall 101
Bollington 236
Bolton 90 254 255
Bolton arms 136 361
Bolton bowmen 348
Bolton Chadwick Museum 336
Bolton Free Library 357 360
Bolton Grammar School 349
Bolton old rate books 360
Bolton Parish Church 341
Bolton roads 86
Bolton Visit to 335 *seq.*
Bolton le Sands 27
Bolyn Manor 100 *seq.*
Books chained 261
Books printed, earliest lists 115
Boomerangs 375 *seq.*
Booth of Barton 186
Booth of Dunham 190
Booth Sir Geo. 106
Booth John MSS. collections 43

Booth Robert del 101
Booth William 77
Boroughbridge 275
Boston Church 58
Boteller John 210
Boteronde Henry 216
Boughton plague stone 321
Boulter John B. 271
Boulton I. W. on the Bow Stones 318
Bow Stones 301 318 *seq.*
Bowden Wm. 256
Bowdon Church 151 154 264
Bower family 108
Bower Ann 110
Bower George 110
Bower Isabella 110
Bower Ralph 108 109 110
Bower William 109 110
Bowland Court Baron 67
Bowmen Bolton 348
Bowyer Robert 358
Bowyer William 358
Bowyer Bible 359 *seq.*
Brackstone R. H. 183
Bradford John 147
Bradley 237
Bradshaghe Sir W. 309
Bradshaw Henry 225 251 293 297
Bradshaw John 225, 242 291
Bradshawe Henry monk 232 235
Bramhall Bishop 254
Brank: Scold's bridle 246
Briddon H. M. 225
Bridgeman Sir John 345
Bridgeman Sir Orlando 345
Bristol moneyers 21
Brocklehurst T. U. obituary 392
Brokencross 87
Broughton supposed Roman road at 385
Brown Ford Madox 140
Brown John schoolmaster 353
Brown Montague 385
Browne Rev. G. F. 363 395
Brunanburgh Battle of 300
Bryce T. 147
Buckingham Villiers Duke of 279
Bucley Geoffrey de 208
Bucley Henry de 208
Buddha 7
Budworth 85 236 237
Bull Hill 304 *seq.*
Bullock Smithy 87
Banbury 296
Burdman family 216
Burgess John 105
Burgoyne Thomas 28
Burnand W. 276
Burnley 86 89
Burscough Monastery 193
Bury 86 90
Bury Parson of 211
Bushby Dr. 226
Butterworth Alex. 230 231
Buxton roads 83 87 88 90
Byland Abbey 278
Byrd N. 147
Byrom John 84

Campfield excavations at 395
Canterbury moneyers 21
Cantilupe W. de 204
Carell Bridget d. of Thomas 188
Carlisle moneyers 21
"Carpenter" and "Joiner" 260
Carrington 149
Carter John on Church Restoration 51
Castleton vill 209
Catton Tho. 276
Cawton Henry 285
Caxton William 115
Cecil William 279
Chambers M. C. 273
Cheetham water corn-mill 253
Chelford 90
Chernok Robert 218
Cheshire churches 93
Cheshire Domesday 35
Cheshire Local Courts 61
Cheshire turnpike system 81
Chester Randle Earl of 183
Chester 237
Chester Cathedral 132
Chester Local Courts 72-3
Chester Monastery 233
Chester moneyers 21
Chester Palatine Courts 76
Chester roads to 83
Chester Roman remains 365
Chetham Humphrey 191 354-5 388
Chetham James 213
Chetham's College 253
Chetham's Hospital and Library 259 *seq.*
Chetwode Philip Touchet son of Sir J. 239
Chisenhale family 203
Chorley 89 99 *seq.* 112 113 314
Church ancient offices 131
Church Restoration 50 *seq.*
Church Lawton *see* Lawton
Churches Periods and Dedications 93
Churchill W. S. 229 364, on Groups of Coins with a History 155
Civil War in Lancashire 190

Clare Peter 261
Clarke John of Knutsford 77
Claughton family 314
Clayton W. 14
Clegg family 229 230
Clegg Matthew de 230
Clegg Hall 229 230
Clemetshaw Elizabeth 275-6
Cleworth James 218
Clevely 29
Clitheroe 86
Clitheroe Court of Pleas 72
Clubbe Jos. 77
Cockersand 26 223 236 259 308
Cock-fighting at Wycoller 179
Cogan Thomas 259
Coinage of Henry II. 16
Coins Kufic 332
Coins Roman found at Aston 385
Coins with a history 155
Colchester moneyers 21
Collier John, "Tim Bobbin" 299
Collmann C. F. 226, On one of the Earliest Lists of Printed Books 115
Colne 174
Combe Dr. Taylor 18
Comberbach 237
Comb's Moss 319
Congleton 88 90
Congleton Court of Pleas 72
Constable John 271
Constellations 8
Contarini G. 170
Convent in Hulme 274
Conversazione Winter 362
Conyers Sir John 268
Cotton Clement 147
Cotton machinery 336
Cotton spinning 108 109
Coup — 193
Courts Local Lancashire and Cheshire 61
Coventry arms 136
Cowplond Richard de 206
Coxwold Church 278
Cragge John prior of Furness 206
Cranage 84 85 90
Crawford Earl of 221
Crompton Mary d. of James 348
Crompton Samuel inventor 337 357 361
Cromwell O. 295 309
Crosford Bridge 85 86 87
Crosland — 269 280
Cross Bolton 342
Cross Winwick 311
Cross *see* Fylfot
Crosses Runic ornamentation 331
Crosses Saxon at Ilkley 364
Crossley James 298
Croston James 335, on a Monumental Effigy at Baguley 149
Crowther J. S. 58 251 325 326 327 363
Crumpsall 86 211
Cuerdale Kufic coins found at 332
Cunliffe Elizabeth 180
Cunliffe Henry 181
Cunliffe Henry Owen 173 174 178 181
Cunliffe John 180
Cunliffe Nicholas 180
Cunliffe Sir Robert 180
Curzon Sir T. 148
Cutler Sir John 271

Daeth Thomas 231
Dalmatia Thalers 167
Dalton — 32 33
Dalton Robert 32
Danyers or Daniel John 238
Darbishire R. D. 226 263 374 379 382, on Australian Stone Implements 376
Darlaston 83
Dauntesey John 214
Dauntesey Sir John 215
Dauntesey Richard son of John 215
Dauntesey Robert 202
Dauntesey William 202 213 215
Dauntesey family 203 213
Davenport — 103
Davenport John de 101 102
Davenport Ralph 103 105
Davenport Thomas 103
Davenport William 102
Davenport Family of Bramall 251
Davenport Green 105
Davenport Hall 103 104 105
Dawkins W. B. 238 331 363, on Ornamentation of Runic Crosses 331, on Australian Stone Implements 370
Dawtrey Thomas 28
Deane Richard 259
Deanrow 99
Dearden Chapel in Rochdale Church 326 329
Dedications Church 93
Defoe D. 81
De Grey Earl de 269
De la Warr John 184
De la Warr Lord 184
De la Warr arms of 138 140
Derby Charlotte Countess of 252 *seq.*
Derby James 7th Earl of 254-5 341 346 349 350 351
Derby William Ferrers Earl of 184

Devizes 215
Dewhurst Geo. 238
Dewhurst Jennetta 231
Dial in the College Yard 261
Dickinson Thomas 275 276
Didsbury 68
Diodati Charles 294
Dobson Alderman 336
Documents importance of 199
Domesday Celebration 395
Domesday Lancashire and Cheshire 35
Dombes seigneurial coins 156 *seq.*
Donatus pro puerilis 125
Doncaster Races 287
Donner W. S. 377 389
Doria coins 158
Douglas — architect 237
Dove William 275-6
Downes Robert de 101
Duckinfield — 252
Duckinfield Col. R. 254 257
Duncombe — 279 281
Dunham Massey 238
Durham Cathedral 56
Durham moneyers 21
Dutton — 236 345
Dutton Hall 231
Duxbury 86

Earwaker J. P. 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 112 223 227 387, on Charters &c. at Agecroft Hall 199 *seq.*
Eccles 263
Eccles Church 212
Eccles hoard of coins 21
Eccles Road 90
Edenfield 86
Edisbury 302 303
Egbert King 266
Egerton family 189 198
Egerton Anne d. of Peter 197
Egerton Charles son of Leonard 198
Egerton Cooke son of Leonard 198
Egerton Dorothy d. of Leonard 198
Egerton Elizabeth 198
Egerton Elizabeth d. of Leonard 198
Egerton Elizabeth d. of Peter 198
Egerton Elizabeth wife of Peter 198
Egerton Ellen d. of Leonard 198
Egerton Frances d. of Peter 198
Egerton Jane 198
Egerton Jane d. of Peter 197
Egerton John 191
Egerton John son of Peter 197
Egerton Katren 198
Egerton Lawrence son of Peter 197
Egerton Legh son of Peter 198
Egerton Leonard 191 198
Egerton Leonard son of Leonard 198
Egerton Leonard son of Peter 197 198
Egerton Margaret d. of Peter 197 198
Egerton Mary 198
Egerton Mary d. of Leonard 198
Egerton Mary relict of Leonard 198
Egerton Penelope d. of Leonard 198
Egerton Penelope d. of Peter 198
Egerton Peter 194 196 198
Egerton Peter (General) 189 190 191
Egerton Peter (ob. 1656) 198
Egerton Peter (ob. 1711) 198
Egerton Peter son of Leonard 191
Egerton Peter son of Peter 197 198
Egerton Peter son of Ralph 197 198
Egerton Piers 186
Egerton Ralph of Ridley 189
Egerton Ralph son of Leonard 198
Egerton Thomas son of Peter 197
Egerton William son of Peter 198
Egypt Exploration Fund 338
Elcocke Alex. 244
Elephant and Castle 136
Elias son of Robert 204
Elland 84
Ely Monastery 233
Ensdale Robert 147
Entwistle family 230
Esdaile George 224 225 227 229 238 256 358 363 388 395, on Lancashire and Cheshire Domesday 35, on Warburton 236, on Agden 238, on Baguley 264, on Aldborough 276, on Road at Broughton 386
Especk *see* L'Especk
Esquimaux implements 367
Ethelred 233
Evans Dr. John 384
Ewart Sergeant 299
Exeter moneyers 22

Falconbridge or Falconberg Thomas Viscount 187
ffarington Miss 384
ffaryngton Sir Henry 28
Faulder W. W. 363, on Queen's Park Museum 315
Fenton — 230
Ferdinand II. of Tuscany 159
Ferrers William de 183 184
Fielding Alderman 357
Finney John 308
Finney Samuel 308
Finney MS. 104
Fishwick H. 324, on Rochdale Church 327

Fitton Edward 100
Fitton Margaret 101
Fitzgerald Sir Gerald 32
Fitzjohn Eustace 282
Fletcher — mayor of Bolton 360 361
Flint implements 305
Flixton 108 182 *seq.* 299 *seq.*, Church 193 *seq.*, extracts from registers 197, site of battle of Brunanburgh 300
Flodden Field 268
Ford Edward 286 287
Ford William 14
Fosdinovo coins 158
Foster's Leap 180
Foulds Parson 358
Fountains Abbey 288
ffoyecastell More 24
Foxe's Acts and Monuments 145
Francis Emperor of Germany 162
Franks A. W. 384
Freemasonry MS. treatise 214
French G. J. 361, on Bolton Grammar School 349
Fronde 156
Fuller T. 147
Fulshaw 99 101 104 105 108
Furness John prior of 206
Furness Court Baron 67
Furness Tobie 195
Fust J. 116 *seq.*
Futhorc Tir 1
Fylfot and the Futhorc Tir 1

Garstang 29
Gascoigne Sir Thomas 274
Gascoignes of Gawthorpe 271
Geoffrey Abp. York 204
Gerard crest 312
Gerard Sir Thomas 218
Gerson J. C. 121
Girlington Sir John 190
Givendale 266 267 269 270
Glapion Warren de 204
Gloucester moneyers 21
Glover John 145
Glover Robert 145
Glynne Serjeant 256
Golborne 89
Goldschmidt P. 362
Goldsmith O. scene of the Vicar of Wakefield 285
Gorst House Chorley 110
Gorthwaite 218
Gouldthorpe William 110
Gradwell Monsignor on Woden's Ford 387
Gralam 85
Grange House Chorley 110
Graves near Bow Stones 320
Gray John de 205
Greaves John 307 308
Greenhalgh Alderman 360
Greg — 110
Greg R. P. 1
Gregory A. G. 380
Grelley Albert 183
Grelley Robert 204 205
Greswell W. P. 236
Greville Sir F. 272
Griselda 123
"Guide to Heaven" 14
Gunpowder Plot 272
Gutenberg J. 116 *seq.*

Hales Bartholomew 272
Halifax Road 84
Hall Mrs. Catherine 105
Hall Hubert 37
Hall Thomas 105
Halome 237
Halsall Sir Thomas 28
Halstead Peter 77
Halton 237
Hampson Elizabeth 320
Hampson John 320
Hanbury Monastery 234
Hanby Richard 225
Harden Hall 248 252
Harewood Castle 276
Harewood Lords of 270
Harland John 21
Harper — 192
Harper Alderman 245
Harper John 187 352
Harper T. printer 14 15
Harpesford 237
Harrison John 195
Harrison William 224, on the Development of the Turnpike System 81
Harrogate 287
Hartley Richard 173 175
Hartley William obituary 392
Hartleys of Wycoller 173
Haslingden 89 90
Haworth — 230
Haworth Henry 208 209
Haworth John 208 209
Haworth Robert de 209
Haworth S. E. 224 387, on Ancient Churches in Lancashire and Cheshire 93
Hawthorn Carrs 109
Hawthorn Hall 110
Headridge D. 225

Heape Charles 331, on Australian Stone Implements 373 384
Heath James 298
Heathcote W. H. 385
Heaton Chapel 90
Heaton Hall 211
Heginbotham H. 241 242 256 298, on the Early History of Stockport 243
Helsby 42
Helmsley Church and Castle 279 280 286
Henry II. Early Coinage 16
Herbert Bishop of Sarum 204
Hereford moneyers 21
Herford Rev. P. M. 241 291 298
Hewison Rev. J. E. 349 357
Heyrick Richard 195
Heywood John (of The Pike) 354 357 359
Heywood Nathan 229 335, on the Early Coinage of Henry Plantagenet 16, on Ilkley Crosses 364
Heywood Robert 359
High Legh 239 240
Higson Nicholas 194
Hill William de 208
Hindley 216 217 218
Hirst John on stencil books 228
Hoddesden 215
Hodgkins — printer 13
Holcroft Thomas 198
Holden Thomas 354, on the Bowyer Bible 358
Holden T. K. 306
Holland family 190 203 207
Holland Richard 202
Holland Robert de 207 208 209 210
Holland Roger de 207 209 210
Hollon 102 106
Holme Randle 40 41 42 151
Holmes Chapel 84 85
Holbrook Rev. — 263
Holyhead Road 90
Hondforth Robert 103
Hornby family 314
Hopkins Sheriff 147
Hopwood Edmond 230
Hough 99
Howard Queen Katherine 215
Howchin Rev. W. 379
Howorth D. F. 228 363
Hudelleston John de 206
Hudelleston Richard de 206
Huet Thomas 216
Hulme 86
Hulme convent in 274
Hulme family of Davyhulme 216
Hulton — 230
Hulton David de 184
Hulton Richard de 184
Hulton Thomas de 211
Hulton William 355
Hunresfeld 208 209
Huntingdon rebus 143
Hyde Henry 187
Hyde John 153 187
Hyde Sir John 152
Hyde of Norbury 252
Hyde Manor 152
Hyde Road 90
Hyndeley Hugh 218

Ilbenstadt 228
Ilchester moneyers 21
Ilkley Saxon crosses 364
Implements *see* Stone
Inchfeld 208
Insula Elizabeth de 276
Ipswich moneyers 21
Irish flakes 378
Irlam Hall 307
Isherwood Mr. and Mrs. J. B. 292 298 392

Jackson Joseph of Nantwich 77
Jackson Shadrach 358
Jackson's mathematical lectures 14
Jacob S. 278
Jankynson William 209
Jean Andre Doria III. 158
Jepson Raphe 260
"Joiner" and "carpenter" 260
Jones Inigo 266 269
Justiniani Institutiones 123

Kechyn John 32
Kendal cordwainers' book 364
Kendall P. F. on Australian implements 379
Kenyon George 213
Kersal Cell 213
Kersley William 217 218
Kinderton 238
Kingsley 42
Kirk Edward 227, obituary 392
Kirkby-Moorside 286
Kirkham Priory 280 282
Kirton Church 58
Knight Archdeacon 345
Knights Bachelor 267
Knutsford 84 85
Koberger — printer 116 *seq.*
Kufic coins 332

Lache Roger del 209
Lancashire churches 93

Lancashire Domesday 35
Lancashire local courts 61
Lancashire turnpike system 81
Lancaster John Duke of 208
Lancaster Court of Pleas 72
Lancaster moneyer 21
Lancaster Palatine Courts 74 *seq.*
Lancaster Priory 27 28
Langley family 201 203
Langley Anne 202 213 215
Langley Catherine 202
Langley Dorothy 202
Langley Edmund 217 218
Langley Margaret 202
Langley Robert 212 216
Langley Sir Robert 201 213
Langley *see also* Longley
Langton George 224
Langton Robert 330, on Church Restoration 50
Langton *see also* Longton
Lascelles Edwin 271
Lascelles Henry 271
Lathom Edmund 198 299
Lathom Sir George 308
Lathom Henry de 184
Lathom Robert de 184 193
Lathom Thomas 308
Lathom House 134 190 252 *seq.*
Latimer John 145
Latus William 191
Lauredano L. 167-169
Lauzun Count de 157 160
Lavington Bp. 215
La Warre *see* De la Warr
Lawton Road 84 85 88 90 108
Leadman A. D. H. 275 278
Lee Simon de 238
Leech D. J. 300, on Flixton 182
Leech John 238
Leek 87 88
Legh family 236 239 240
Legh de Booths 264
Legh of Adlington 242 249
Legh of Lyme 252
Legh Geffrey 152
Legh George Cornwall 240
Legh Harry Cornwall 240
Legh John 152
Legh Sir John 152 153
Legh John son of Robert 152
Legh Matilda heiress of John 184
Legh Piers 152
Legh Sir Peter 315
Legh Robert 184
Legh Thomas 202 240
Legh William 152
Leicester R. Earl of 204
Leicester moneyers 21
Leigh John 149
Leigh W. mayor of Stockport 241
Lempriere Rev. John 353
L'Especk Adeline 279 282
L'Especk Walter 279 280 282 283
Letherbrow T. 227
Letts Rev. E. F. 361 369, on Misereres in Manchester Cathedral 130
Levant thaler 164
Levenshulme Manor 152
Lever James 352 354
Lever John 351 352
Lever Robert 349 350 351 352 353 354
Lever William 351
Lewes Joyce 145 *seq.*
Lewes Thomas 145 148
Leycester of Toft 105
Leycester Sir Peter 152
Leycester MS. 43
Leyland Sir William 28
Library Bolton Free 359
Library Bolton Grammar School 355
Library Chetham 359
Library Marple Hall 297
Lichfield 145 *seq.*
Lichfield Cathedral 57
Lightbown William 347
Lincoln Minster 56
Lincoln moneyers 21
Lindow Common 102 104
Lingards in Chorley 110
Lister Charles 238 239 392
Liverpool 84 90, Court of Passage 72, Court of Requests 78
Local Courts 61
London moneyers 22
Longley family 201
Longley John 218
Longley Ralph 201
Longley Ralph warden of Manchester 210 216 217
Longley Richard 201 206
Longley Robert de 207 208
Longley Robert son of Roger 207
Longley Roger 206 218
Longley Roger son of Richard and Joan 210
Longley Thomas 207
Longley Thurstan de 211
Longton Gilbert 217
Longton John 218
Longton Thomas 217
Lonsdale Hundred Court 67
Loom ancient 336

Loom *see* weaving
Lostock 13
Lowe Alfred 107 108
Lowe Thomas 224
Loxham Rev. R. 358
Lydgate Chorley 110
Lymm 236
Lynn moneyer 22
Lyra Nicolai de 124

Macadam 89
Macclesfield 87 88 90
Macclesfield Local Courts 68
Macklin's Bible 358
Maclure Canon E. C. on Rochdale Church 324
Macrefeld 310 311
Malbys Agnes 284
Malbys Sir John 284
Malbys William 284
Man Isle of 254
Manchester Cathedral Misereres 130
Manchester Cathedral restorations 57
Manchester Classis 195
Manchester Collegiate Church 188 210 217
Manchester Court Baron 67
Manchester Court of Requests 79
Manchester deeds 203 216
Manchester excavations in Byrom Street 395
Manchester Grammar School 262
Manchester Joyce Lewes of 145
Manchester printing 13
Manchester roads 83 *seq.*
Manchester ship canal 225
Manchester siege 190
Manners Edward 280
Manners Lady Elizabeth 279
Manners Sir Robert 279 281
Marbury Mary 296
March H. Colley 224 232 330, on the Fylfot and the Futhorc Tir 1, on Flint Implements 306, on the Bow Stones 323
Maria Theresa 161
Markinsfield Hall 278
Marler family 216
Marple Hall 90 225 291
Marprelate Martin 13
Marriages temp. Commonwealth 275
Marriott Rev. R. W. 275
Marsh J. F. 297
Martindale Rev. Adam 262
Martinscrofte Alice 259 *seq.*
Martinscrofte Elizabeth 260
Martinscrofte George 260
Martinscrofte Richard 259 *seq.*
Mascy *see* Massey
Massey Hamon de 151
Massey Robert 152
Massey Thomas de 257
Massey Thomas son of Richard 152
Massey William de 257
Massimi family 125
Maunsell — printer 115
Mayence printing at 116 *seq*
Mazarin Bible 120
Mazarin Cardinal 156
Meinau Stephen de 282
Melrose Abbey 282
Members list of 401
Mentelin J. 117 *seq.*
Mersey River 247 302
Mersey at Stockport 243
Mersey and Irwell Navigation 216
Metcalf John 87 108
Meyer Dr. 118
Middleton 90 216
Middleton Church 54
Middleton Deeds 203
Middleton School 296
Middlewich 41 90
Midgarths Orm 10
Midgley W. W. 336 385
Milnhous Robert 208
Milnhous Roger son of Richard 208
Milngate Richard 216
Milngate Robert son of Hugh del 216
Milton John his visits to Cheshire 293 *seq.*
Minns Rev. G. W. W. on Acoustic Pottery 289
Minshull Elizabeth wife of Milton 297
Misereres in Manchester Cathedral 130
Mitton 29 33
Mobberley 104 106
Moffat Dr. 299
Molyneux Sir Richard 188
Molyneux W. 188
Moneyers list of 21
Monumental Effigy at Baguley Hall 149
Moorhouse James Bishop of Manchester 385
Morimundi 228
Morall Dr. 354
Morgill — 345
Morley in Cheshire 99 104 105 107
Morris Edw. 276
Moss A. J. 385
Mosse John priest 212
Mottram 108
Mottram Church 387
Mottram Road 90
Mottram St. Andrew 106
Muckley W. J. 316
Müller Ludvig 3 *seq.*

Mullwith 269
Munby E. C. 278

Nantwich 83 84
Naukratis 339
Naville M. 338
Neville's Cross 268
New Zealand Maoris 376
Newark moneyer 22
Newbigging 27
Newbold Samuel 232
Newbold Hall 229 231
Newby Hall 266
Newcastle moneyer 22
Newcome Rev. Henry 262
Newcroft in Urmston 188
Newton near Chester 235 237
Newton Lane 13
Nicholson Albert 308 317 387
Nicholson J. Holme 113 229 258 314 361
Norbury Samuel 113
Norbury William 309 314, on Chorley Hall and Neighbourhood 99
Norbury Houses in Warford 106
Norbury Hyde of 153
Norcotes 137
Norreys Gilbert 313
Norris Alex. 352
Norris de Haghe Hugh 309
Northampton moneyers 22
Northenden 257
Northwich 85 87 90 236
Norton Abbey 235
Norwich acoustic pottery 289
Norwich moneyers 22
Noton John 308, on Flixton 299
Nowell Dean 296
Nürnberg printers 117 *seq.*

Oakham Church 58
Odgers Rev. J. E. 278
Ogilby's Britannia 83
Okey John 347 352
Oldfield Henry 6
Oldham Rev. John 173 177 179
Oldham 84 90
Olerenshaw Rev. M. 224
Orange coins of 158
Ordsall Manor 184
Ordsall *see also* Radcliffe
Orme of Urmston 299
Ormerod Geo. 223
Ormrod Peter 341
Ormskirk 89
Orrell's Well 103 110
Oryby Dame Margaret de 285
Oswald King 310
Outrington 236 237
Over Court Baron 63
Owen C. H. 227, on Wycoller Hall 173
Owen Charles 181
Owen John 229 241 262 359
Owen Joseph 181
Oxford moneyers 22
Oxley Thomas 225 335, on Esquimâux Implements 367

Padovan V. 166 167
Pannartz A. 124 *seq.*
Partington 149
Pearson George 314
Penda King 310
Pendlebury Elias de 205
Pendlebury 203 206 214
Pendlebury Manor 201 203 206
Pendleton 203 214 216
Percy Thomas 272
Petrarch 123
Peveril William 183
Pfister A. 120
Phillpots J. 215
Phiton or Fitton 101
Pickering 287
Pictures at High Legh 239
Pig Winwick 312
Pigs depictions of 139
Pilling 29
Pithom 338
Place-names 300
Plague of 1646 320
Plague stones 320 321
Plantagenet Henry 16
Platt — 187
Ploughland Hall 271
Poey d'Avant M. 166
Popplewell John 356
Pottery acoustic 289
Poulton 202 204
Poulton Court of Requests 78
Powell Canon 341
Pownall 109
Pownall Fee 99
Pownall Hall 110
Pownall Canon 19
Pratell John de 204
Praverst Thomas 282
Premonstratensian canons 27
Pre-Norman sculptured stones 363
Presbyterian Classis Manchester 195
Prescot 84 86
Prescott William 255 256
Preston 83 86 89

Preston Court of Pleas 72
Prestwich family 201 203 205
Prestwich Alice d. of Adam de 201
Prestwich Henry de 208
Prestwich Joan d. of Adam de 206
Prestwich Margaret d. of Adam de 205 206
Prestwich Thomas s. of John de 205
Prestwich 214
Prestwich Church 205 206 212
Prestwich land in 203 204
Prestwich Manor 201 202 206 210 211
Prestwich Moor 211
Prestwich parson of 211
Printed Books Earliest Lists 115
Proceedings 221 *seq.*
Psalter Schoeffer's 121
Pulton Abbot Robert 29

Queen's Park Museum 315
Quern 241

Races Australian 370
Rachedale *see* Rochdale
Radcliffe family 86 187 203 205 207
Radcliffe Alexander 187 197
Radcliffe Alexander of Ordsall 193
Radcliffe Alexander s. of Sir John 185
Radcliffe Sir Alexander of Ordsall 188
Radcliffe Sir Alexander (grandson) 189
Radcliffe Ann d. of Alexander 197
Radcliffe Cicely 186
Radcliffe Clemens wife of Alexander 197
Radcliffe Francis 197
Radcliffe Frederic son of Francis 197
Radcliffe John of Foxdenton 188
Radcliffe John s. of Richard 184
Radcliffe Sir John 187 188 189
Radcliffe Margaret 189
Radcliffe Margaret d. of Richard 197
Radcliffe Margaret wife of Richard 197
Radcliffe Mary 189
Radcliffe Ralph 185
Radcliffe Ralph of Smithells 186
Radcliffe Sir Ralph 185
Radcliffe Richard 188 197 209
Radcliffe Richard son of John 184 185
Radcliffe Robert son of William 209
Radcliffe William de 209
Radcliffe Capt. William 189
Radcliffe Sir William 188
Rag Wm. 238
Ragusa thalers 164
Rawstorne Ann 261
Rayner Wm. 243
Rebels at Stockport in 1745 247
Record Courts of 61 *seq.*
Red Bank Winwick 309
Reddish 236
Reddish John of Reddish 202
Reede S. J. 299 392
Regiomontanus 116
Renaud F. 227
Reniger Michael 146
Report of Council 392
Restoration Notes on 50
Revesby Lincolnshire 282 283
Reynolds Rev. G. W. 293
Richelieu Cardinal 156
Ridgways Thos. 252
Rievaulx Abbey 281
Ripon and District 265 *seq.*
Ripon Cathedral 287
Ripon miseseres 132
Roads turnpike 81
Robin Hood's picking rods 319
Robinson J. B. 225
Robinson Thomas Weddel 269
Rochdale 86 90 208 209 216
Rochdale Court Baron 67
Rochdale deeds 203
Rochdale old halls near 229
Rochdale parish church 324
Rochdale roads 83 84
Rochdale Roger vicar of 209 210
Rochdale Walton vicar of 216
Rochester Cathedral 57
Roger de Poitou 36 183
Roger Bp. of St. Andrews 204
Roman coins found at Aston 385
Roman isurium 275
Roman origin of Bow Stones 322
Roman remains at Chester 365
Roman road (supposed) at Broughton 385
Romans in Stockport 243
Romney George 287
Roos Edmund Baron 279
Roos Eleanor d. of Thomas Lord 281
Roos Sir John de 284
Roos Lady Mary 284
Roos Peter de 279
Roos Thomas de 284
Roper W. O. 223 364, on Cockersand Abbey 26
Rowan Rev. R. S. 327
Rowcroft smithy 90
Royle Charles 182 187
Royds C. B. 231
Rudheath 85
Rules 397
Runcorn Gap 90
Runic crosses ornamentation 331
Rupert Prince 254

Rusholme 88
Rushton T. L. 341
Rutland Earldom 279 280
Rutland Thomas Earl of 284
Rye H. A. on Helmsley 279, on Rievaulx 282
Ryther Alice d. of Sir John 271
Ryleys 107

Sabbath question 15
St. Edmundsbury moneyers 22
St. Mary Overies Southwark 54
St. Oswald's Well Winwick 310
Sale John 218
Sale Cheshire 237
Salford Hundred Court 67
Salisbury moneyers 22
Saltersbrook 84
Sandeforth 216
Sandon 87
Saunders Lawrence 145
Savage Jane d. of Thomas Viscount 294
Savage Sir J. 238
Savage Sir Thomas 238
Savile Sir George 287
Savages skulls and brains of 370
Saxon crosses at Ilkley 364
Scargill Sarah 181
Schoeffer P. 116 *seq.*
Scholes J. C. on Bolton Church 341
Schweinheim C. 124 *seq.*
Scold's bridle 241 246
Scoresby Captain 369
Scott Sir G. G. 58
Scroope Henry le 284
Sedgwick — curate of Flixton 195
Seton nuns of 206
Sevigné Madame de 160
Shandy Hall 278
Sharpe Edmund 33
Shagh *see* Shaw and Asshawe
Shaw 185 190 191
Shaw Hall 182
Shawtown 185
Sheriff H. 228
Sheriff's Court 70
Shrewsbury in Domesday 48
Shuttleworth William 219
Simkin Thomas 244
Simon Archdeacon of Wells 204
Siward Henry 183 184
Sixendale Walter de 280
Skelton Church 275
Skerton 29
Skipton 86
Skulls Australian 370
Skypton James 28
Smallwood House 104
Smith S. jun. 166
Smith William 242 248 357
Smith William Ford 363
Smithson Nicholas 276
Smythe Alexander vicar of Bolton 346
Smythe Edward curate of Flixton 194
Spinner old 337
Spinning cotton and Jersey 108
Spinning old machines 336
Southwark St. Saviour's Church 54
Southwell Minster 55
Stafford moneyer 22
Stamford moneyer 22
Stanning Rev. J. H. 278
Stanley Dean A. P. 111
Stanley Bishop Edward 111
Stanley James 216
Stanley John 103
Stanley Peter 198
Stanley Richard 211
Stanley Warden 314
Stanley crest 133
Starkye Jane 197
Staynford William 33
Stencil books 228
Stephen Earl of Blois 183
Stockdale John 388
Stockport 38 254
Stockport *Advertiser* 241
Stockport antiquities of 241
Stockport Bridge 247 248
Stockport Castle 249
Stockport Charter 244
Stockport Church 242 249
Stockport Court of Requests 79
Stockport early history 245
Stockport mayors 245
Stockport old town's books 252
Stockport oratory 247
Stockport roads 83 90
Stockton 236
Stokeport Sir Robert de 244
Stoks Peter de 204
Stonehewer John 77
Stone hammers 259
Stone implements Australian 370
Stone implements Esquimaux 367
Stones Bow 318
Stones consecrated 321
Stones found at Bolton 342
Stones plague 301
Stones pre-historic 277
Stones pre-Norman 363
Strafford Earl of 271

Strange Lord 190
Stretford 86
Stretford plague stone 301
Stretton 236
Styall 99
Sub-cellæ or Misereres 130
Subiaco Monastery 125
Sumner Isaac 110
Sutton C. W. 224 294 300 395
Sutton near Aston 236
Swastika 3 4 7 8
Swinton Moor 213
Swithenby John an old spinner 337
Sydall Edward 213
Symms — printer 13

Tabley 87 94 237
Tahpanhes 340
Tailior Nicholas 217
Tatton family 242 243 257 258
Tatton Robert 259
Tatton T. W. 154
Taylor Peter 107
Tealby hoard of coins 18 20
Telford T. 90
Tetlow Joan d. of Jordan 201
Thelwall 48
Thetford moneyers 22
Thompson Edw. 276
Tildesley Thurstan 345
Tinkler J. E. 364
Tir Futhorc 1 11
Todmorden 86
Tomlyn — printer 13
Toole Lawrence Canon 274
Tooter Hill 305
Tottington 211
Tottington Fee Court 67
Townley Richard 230 231
Trafford — 100 101 264
Trafford Edmund de 101
Trafford Sir Humphrey de 101, obituary 391
Treasure trove 20
Treasurer's statement 396
Trémouille Charlotte de la 252
Trentham Nunnery 234
Trevoux mint 157
Triquetra 9
Triskele 1 3 7
Tukeley John abbot 284
Turnpike system in Lancashire and Cheshire 81
Tute Rev. J. S. 288

Ulminus Canon of Chester 235
Ulverstone 218
Underbank Hall 248
Upholland 255
Urmston 192

Valentine Jane 186
Valentine John 185
Valentine Richard 184 185
Valentine Thomas 185
Venables Elizabeth 239
Venables George 238 239
Venables Hugh 239
Venables William 238
Venables William le 238
Venetian printers 117
Venetian thalers 161 *seq.*
Vernon 43
Vernoun Richard 250
Vicar of Wakefield 285
Villiers George D. of Buckingham 279
Virgo C. G. 315
Vyner F. G. 275
Vyner Lady Mary 266 269 274

Wainfleet moneyer 22
Wainwright Joel 292
Waite J. K. 353
Waldegrave — 13
Walkden — 108 193
Wallingford moneyer 22
Walton Lady Ada de 206
Walton John vicar of Rochdale 216
Walton Nether 237
Warburton family 236-7
Warburton Rev. E. G. H. 232
Warburton John 236 237
Warburton Sir John 237
Warburton Peter de 236
Warburton Piers 237
Warburton Robert 300
Warburton Thomas 238
Warburton 304
Warburton churches 232
Ward Sir Christopher 268 269
Ward Margaret 268
Ward Marmaduke 266 268 271 272
Ward Mary and her religious foundations 272
Ward Nicholas 268
Warde Simon de 267
Wards of Newby 266
Wardon Abbey 282
Ware Henry 198
Warford 104
Warford Baptist Chapel 106
Warnedge Rocks 319
Warr *see* De la Warr

Warrington 83 84 85 86 90 211 310
Wast Joan 148
Watkin Sir Edward W. 246
Watkin W. T. on the Bow stones 322, on Roman remains at Chester 365, on Roman coins found at Aston 385, on road at Broughton 386
Watkins James 353
Weaving at Flixton 192
Weddel Wm. 269
Wentworth Thos. 271
Werburgh Saint 232
Wescham Bishop 345
Wesley John 299
Westhoughton 358
Wetherby William de 218
Whaley 87
Whaley Moor 319 321
Whalley Abbey 132
Wheeler Richard 198
Whitchurch 87
White William 219
White Hall 108
Whittle 203 218
Whittle John 350
Wigan 86 89 218
Wigan Court of Pleas 72
Wilkins Bishop 345
William Abbott 283
Wilmslow 88 105 109 110 111
Wilmslow Church 54 59
Wilmslow Parish 99 101
Wilton moneyers 22
Winchester Marchioness of 294
Winchester moneyers 22
Winewall 175
Winmarleigh 29
Wynington Elizabeth d. of Richard 237
Winwick Church 309 313
Winwick pig 312
Winwick rubbings 363
Wiper W. 363
Wirrall roads 91
Woden's Ford 387
Woodhouse Canon C. W. 364
Woods Rev. W. J. 385
Woolmer Edward 194 195
Worcester moneyers 23
Worde Wynkyn de 115
Worsley J. E. 309, on Winwick 313
Worthington Thomas 258
Wren Sir Christopher 266 269
Wright — 187 309
Wright Christopher 272
Wright John 271 272
Wright Martha 272
Wright S. Worthington 196
Wright Ursula 271
Wright William 271
Wrightington 203 218
Wyatt James 56
Wycoller Hall 173 *seq.*
Wythenshawe Hall 257 *seq.*

Yates G. C. 224 225 227 228 229 233 304 305 307 331 335 363 367 373 379 384, on Bow Stones 321, on Australian implements 379 380
York Minster 55
York moneyers 23
York nuns 273

Zoan mounds at 339

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